DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 033 416 CG 004 584

AUTHOR	Graham, Jewel
TITLE	The Antioch Program for Interracial Education. A Five-Year Report. 1964-1969.
INSTITUTION	Antioch Coll., Yellow Springs, Ohio.
Spons Agency	Fels Research Inst., Yellow Springs, Ohio.; Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.; Rockefeller Foundation, New York, N.Y.
Pub Date	1 Jul 69
Note	82p.
EDRS Price	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC Not Available from EDRS.
Descriptors	College High School Cooperation, College Integration, *College Students, Counseling, *Culture Conflict, *Demonstration Programs, Economically Disadvantaged, Identification (Psychological), Minority Groups, *Negro Attitudes, *Race Relations, Racial Attitudes, Social Problems, Student Needs

Abstract

Within the context of institutional educations' attempt to respond to compelling social problems, Antioch College developed a program designed to test the assumption that "overlooked" minority group students with the potential for academic success would benefit from attendance at Antioch and would also contribute positively to the college. Since 1965, 92 students, predominately male and black, were identified and recruited by committees set up in various metropolitan areas. They were accepted by relaxed admission standards, were provided educational, motivational and enrichment experiences before entrance, and given supportive counseling and financial assistance once on campus. In the beginning the students aspired to fit in, but as they became more aware of their blackness strong feelings of black pride, black unity and black survival developed, and they worked earnestly on curriculum and housing reform to prevent manipulation by a white middle class institution. The major impact of the students on the college is that the program became a vehicle for education in race relations but there is a need for further analysis of its effects. The report raises many questions about the nature of education's contribution to the solution of problems posed by poverty and racial injustice. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document]. (RM)

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ED033416

THE ANTIOCH PROGRAM FOR INTERRACIAL EDUCATION

A FIVE-YEAR REPORT

1964-1969

by Jewel Graham, ACSW, Director

CG004584

July 1, 1969
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

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Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to the following members of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education staff for their help in compiling data on this report and for preparing it for duplication--Ruth Stewart, Administrative Associate, Vivian Lundy, Student Assistant, Betty Ford, Secretary, Claudette Joshua, Secretarial Assistant. I am also grateful to Irwin Inman, College Editor, who read the manuscript, for his suggestions to make it more readable.

I. Introduction

Antioch College is a small liberal arts college in southwestern Ohio, midway between Columbus and Cincinnati. It was founded in 1852 under religious auspices and became secularized later as it was influenced by "liberal" religious traditions under later leaders. It was well on its way to folding in 1920, when Arthur Morgan, engineer and educator, became its president. He initiated the work-study plan as a way of relating educational practices with the education of the whole man.

Today Antioch College describes itself as experimental and experiential, integrating life in community, work, and study. Since the initiation of the work-study plan fifty years ago, the College has added a year-round four-quarter system, a year abroad, and field centers that provide work-study situations away from the campus. It makes generous use of student-initiated courses and independent study. It has replaced grades with written evaluations. Students have long participated in the governing processes. Within these circumstances, by 1965, Antioch had become an elitist institution whose students came largely from families who could afford the $2650 total costs (today it is $4200, and going higher each year). Moreover, these families could provide the educational experiences that made the median College Board score in the 650's (today it is higher). These circumstances contributed to such a homogeneity that experiential education, at least from the interaction of students, was becoming somewhat limited.

Some people felt sufficient concern about this so that when Antioch was asked by the Rockefeller Foundation if it would accept $300,000 to enable it to educate Negro youth, the Antioch trustees accepted the grant and voted to match that grant in order to have a program of greater impact. Gifts from the Fels Foundation and the du Pont Corporation were added. Three years later the Rockefeller Foundation gave $275,000 to continue the project. Gifts from corporations, foundations, other organizations, and individuals, in response to appeals for black student scholarship assistance yielded over $500,000 net from more than 7,000 new donors. Federal funds to assist came from the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare via Economic Opportunity grants, Work-Study funds, and the Talent Search operation. A student-faculty committee under the leadership of the Dean of Students designed a program aimed at broadening educational opportunities for young people from backgrounds that placed them at a disadvantage in competing for positions of power and prestige in our society.

When Antioch accepted the grants, it also accepted the responsibility of making periodic reports to the donors, and of analyzing its experience over the years to share whatever of value it is learning with institutions and individuals that held similar concerns. The first such report was written in 1967, after the first three years of operation.

In that report the general design of the "experiment" was described, the early experiences with it were analyzed, and the emerging questions raised by the experiences to date were explicated. This report will not go over that ground, although there will of necessity be some overlapping. It will become plain that the questions have broadened and deepened and become more complex, and we are only a little closer to some of the answers. There have been great changes in the sociocultural milieu. Forces only beginning to be felt two years ago have pervaded the environment and changed the very nature of the experiment.

A report is being made at this point for several reasons, the most compelling of which is the fact that the end of the period of initial funding is at hand and comprehensive reports are due to the Rockefeller Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education, and other donors.

This five year Report will examine the fundamental premise, the methodology, and the findings so far. It will look at the more recent complications of the problems, the general response of educational institutions, the specific response of Antioch. It will look at Antioch's response with an eye to uncovering fundamental issues, particularly those clearly shared with other educational institutions regardless of their size or philosophy.

It seems obvious that this is a long-term experiment that should operate for several years without further detailed analysis. It is recommended therefore that 1975 be the date of the next full report.

II. The Problem

Although it is not the intent of this paper to dwell upon the general social situation that leads to this sort of project, it does seem important to sketch briefly some of the factors that create the imperatives of involvement, for educational institutions in general as well as for Antioch.

Every culture has worked out ways of perpetuating itself through the impartation of its knowledge, skills, and values to its young. In simple cultures this was done through the family and the tribe, and later on perhaps through the social class. As the culture has become more complex and knowledge more specialized, much of this imparting of knowledge and skills and values has been turned over to a whole class of functionaries known as teachers.

In the early days of our own society these functionaries had only limited value. The greater and more important part of education still took place in the home or on the farm, or a little later, in the factory. It has been relatively recently that education as we know it today has assumed such great proportions or importance. Fifty years ago, for example, only 16.8 per cent of persons 17 years old were high school graduates.[1] A formal education was not related to the chance for occupational status and financial reward, or for that matter, general competence in dealing with life.

Today all that has changed. In 1966, 75 per cent of young people 17 years old were high school graduates. The total number of persons receiving degrees at the bachelor's level or beyond increased from 216,521 in 1940 to 714,624 in 1966.[1] They are there because society has come to define this kind of formal education as the only path to participation in the significant occupational roles available in a meritocratic technocracy or, if you please, a technocratic meritocracy.

The launching of Sputnik plunged the educational system of the United States into a profound concern for excellence. The development of automation and cybernation have redefined the nature of work. The burgeoning population with the attendant exploitation and despoiling of the natural environment; intensified organization, depersonalized relationships, hostile reactions exemplified in war and riot are redefining the nature of the problems to be worked upon.

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[1] Demographic data is from 1968 issue of the Statistical Abstract of the United States, p. 127.

Despite Soviet gains and mainland China aspirations, the United States is still the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth. Unemployment has been reduced to 3.8 per thousand in 1969.[1] The dream of a house on its own plot of land, a measure of job security, and assurance of assistance in old age is fast becoming a reality for a great many people--mostly middle class, and mostly white. The gains over the years have accrued to whites of all classes and minority group members of the middle classes. The non-white lower class has been steadily losing ground. Witness the fact that the unemployment rate for black males was 7.4 per thousand in 1967 compared to 3.3 for the white, and in ghetto areas one out of three available black workers is either unemployed or underemployed. The median annual income for "non-white" is $4,628.[2] (The national norm is $7,536.) The death rate for "non-whites" is 9.7 estimated rate per thousand; the national rate is 9.5. (The life expectancy for a white female is 73.8 years; for a black male it is 60.7.)[3]

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders, one year after its historical report citing racism as a root cause for our "American Dilemma," asserts that we continue to move toward the establishment of two nations--one black, one white--more separate and clearly unequal.

The automation of Southern farms, combined with overt oppression, have driven so many Southern blacks to urban and Northern areas that whereas in 1900, 90 per cent of America's Negroes lived in the South, 1968 estimates show that only 53 per cent do. In 1965 Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, Baltimore, Cleveland, New Orleans, St. Louis, Atlanta, Memphis, and Newark had populations that were one-third or more black. The blacks moved to the cities to find a way to live and the whites fled to the suburbs. Blacks who had the money and who could find the real estate followed them. Blacks--untrained and unprepared for city life, exploited by people and by institutions, unrelated to the rich complexity that urban centers can make available--have become the principle inhabitants of the nation's large cities. Their disappointment and disillusion with the Promised Land have turned into the rage and bitterness of despair.

The white backlash to black aspirations through peaceful petition has created a situation in which many blacks feel that they have nothing to lose--that whites care more about amassing material goods in neat brick houses on green postage stamp lawns than about finding remedies for the fundamental contradictions of American democracy that may eventually destroy it. It almost seems that the parameters of the battle were laid down in 1954, when the Supreme Court declared that separate was unequal. The battle positions were drawn up as the Negroes declared their determination to become a part of America and the whites declared their determination to resist them. Shock and disbelief came from many quarters when the U.S. was described in the President's Commission on Disorders as a racist society. That the fundamental inconsistencies are seen in terms of black and white, although in many ways they are actually between the haves and the have-nots, is evidence that our perceptions and definitions are drawn in terms of race - always in terms of race.

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[1] Ibid., p. 217

[2] Ibid., p. 323

[3] Ibid., p. 53

And so it was that the Afro-American movement replaced the civil rights movement as the carrier of the Negro's search for psychic self-respect and political and economic power. The Afro-American movement is in fact very old. Despite the historical rupture, the dispersion of tribes and families--perhaps because of the centuries of separation and oppression--black people have clung to an identification with one another, built around their mutual situation in this country. From time to time this has blossomed into a full-fledged search for ties with the homeland, such as the Marcus Garvey back-to-Africa movement. Most Negroes, however, have made their main identification with the country of their enslavement, and have held many of the same views about the land of their origin that other Americans have. It was perhaps the decolonization of Africa that stimulated black people to look again to the ancient homeland for their historical identifications. It was the intransigence of the white community that raised the question of whether black salvation could be gained by any but black hands.

This question and the attempt to respond to it have taken many people, black and white, onto many curious bypaths. There have been a proliferation of slogans, overly simplistic definitions of problems, and instant proposals for magical solutions. Yet through it all many responsible people have realized that much worth saying is being said, some of it profound. That analyses of our racial situation, made, in fact, years ago, are finally being taken seriously on a wide basis is a sign that we are perhaps beginning to face up to the magnitude and seriousness of the problems.

Several strands began to appear. Black power was articulated in the face of the waning effectiveness of non-violent demonstrations as an appeal to white conscience. It was defined in various ways by different people and to different people. For most it came to mean the concept that salvation for black people lies in their access to power, political and economic; that people with power do not give it up; and so it is necessary to seize it "by any means necessary." The possession of power is necessary to survival. The rationale for any philosophy or program is seen directly as it contributes to "black survival." "Black survival" replaces "integration" as the goal, and that survival is both biological and cultural. Integration is cultural genocide, assimilation is biological genocide, and the fear of physical genocide, à la the Jews in Germany, is real.

To signal a new era, the first imperative was to change the name from Negro to Black, a monumental accomplishment in the face of resistance from whites and reluctance from Negroes. This indicated that the old order has died and that new relationships were about to begin. Black people were henceforth to be very aware, very conscious of being black. They were to identify openly with one another and to pool their numbers and their influence to seize some power on whatever level. And so the Black Caucus and the list of demands became accepted procedure whenever black and white met together on common concerns. It has seemed clear for some time that black people would have to be "together" to make any real progress - so unity became the foundation for all that was to follow. Black people began to throw off the yoke of the shame of blackness and to substitute a pride of being that could eradicate the "mark of oppression." It was no longer necessary to try to go unnoticed to avoid the wrath of the white man. So distinctive colorful clothing and natural hair styles were initiated. Passivity as a modus vivendi à la whites was abandoned in favor of the politics of challenge and confrontation. For some people this involved the "sound mind in a sound body" syndrome, and physical fitness couched in the language of revolution is a part of the Black Pride, Black Muslim, Black Puritan philosophy.

The strength of the imperative for self-determination made for a rift in the erstwhile alliance of the white liberal and the black. Whether conscious or not, there seemed to be a deliberate attempt to put whites at a distance, be they friend or foe, and to make indiscriminate judgments of "whitey," the "man," or the "honky" - or any other term guaranteed to arouse white hostility. These changes in attitudes and behavior patterns establish the base for the central task - that of nation building - which is interpreted in many different ways. Central is that survival for black people as a people depends on their ability to free themselves from the white oppression psychologically, economically, and politically and to establish those ties of community - that common history - that distinguish a nation. This means the establishment of a common history, the restoration of African ties, literature, language, and history. It means a search for old African cultural forms - family structures, relationships to authority, sex roles, mores and values. Some people see this as a network of emotional and political economic ties, and some see it as of necessity tied to land, either the great compounds of the cities, or contiguous territory like Indian reservations. Those who opt for the cities feel that control of the institutions in the cities is the best path to power. So riots have become rebellions.

The vision of creating a black nation out of whole cloth is a bold one, and the task itself is difficult almost beyond imagination. That the idea has appeal and has progressed as far as it has indicates the extent to which racism is ingrained in society and the desperation of black people to change their role and their history; and they have in fact mounted a revolution. So now people are arming themselves as they did in frontier days. Terror stalks the city. There is "fear of the few by the many" and "fear of the many by the few."

The problem is how to achieve equitable distribution of power and influence and of the goods and services that power and influence make possible so that there is dignity and respect for all. The problem is exacerbated because the racist nature of our society skews the power distribution racially. Black people seek as blacks to attack the problem at one level. Some white people seek to attack it at another. There are many areas where both are attacking it. That is, they are trying to initiate social change so that we manage the environment, its resources, and our relationships with one another better.

The insistence of blacks on access to power has been contagious to the point that the Spanish-speaking peoples of the United States and the Indians on and off the reservations have begun to speak out strongly against the discriminations of the system against them, generating movements for "Red Power" and "Brown Power." It seems to have less contagious to poor whites who have tended historically to identify as white rather than as the underclass it is.

III. The Response

A task force for the National Commission on Violence issued early in June a report confirming the American inclination to violence, stating that Americans "are likely to remain so as long as so many of us think violence is an ultimate solution to social problems." The academic community has long prided itself on its rational and non-violent approach to life. The task force report includes an admonition that we need to find ways of responding to pressures for social change and of implementing social change without being overwhelmed by violence and without resorting to overwhelming repression of agitation for social change. Because of its central role in the modern state (education is the biggest and the fastest growing industry) the educational establishment has been constrained to participate more consciously in initiating and managing social change. But it is caught in the vortex of those same powerful social forces that appear to be so disruptive to society at large.

In this climate educational institutions have groped and floundered, seeking to clarify their roles and maintain some initiative in social change. For three decades there have been loud calls for equal employment opportunities. It became increasingly clear that there would be no equal employment without equal education. In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that separate was unequal. Over the years there have been attempts to correct the inequality through integration, providing white pupils as hostages for the equal education of the black ones. Even when they were willing, frustrated school administrators watched their white hostages disappear from the school district, and equal education through integration seem doomed to failure. Even so, it was also becoming clear that the educational process, while it included the school experience, was not totally that, and to provide equal educational opportunity meant providing equal life chances - for housing, family stability, prenatal nutrition, and pre-school intellectual stimulation. Head Start was one attempt to get at that. Even Head Start was eventually evaluated to be of limited usefulness without the inclusion of the poor in mainstream life opportunities and the improvement of educational processes after Head Start.

Institutions of higher education were drawn into the processes several years ago when it appeared that even when institutions began to employ Negroes (oftentimes at the prodding of the Federal government), there were not enough adequately trained people. At the same time a "diploma elite" was rapidly developing. It seemed that the path of upward mobility was increasingly narrowing itself by requiring the acquisition of a college degree (or of several). In such an arrangement, minority group youth, if college educations did not become available to them, would be permanently excluded from the powerful decision-making circles in business and government. The development of a more rigid class-caste system was inevitable.

The educational "establishment" was aware of this. In order to deal with it, it developed the philosophy of "compensatory education," and a plethora of compensatory programs sprang up at all levels. The doctrine of compensatory education was predicated on the assumption that the difference could be made up--that a double dose of what worked with middle class children was needed for poor ones. In 1966, Edmund Gordon and Doxey Wilkerson wrote for the College Entrance Examination Board and the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students a "compendium, analysis, and evaluation of compensatory education across the nation." In one place (page 173) they concluded a la college that

> "...None of the existing programs have begun serious work on such problems as the modification of the mental postures and learning patterns in inefficient young adult learners; the devising of alternate input systems for acquisition of knowledge banks for the student who suffers from major deficits in information as well as impaired skills for acquiring it; the relationship of the availability of social or cultural reference groups to persistence and attrition roles among minority group college students; and the differential interaction between aspiration, motivation, opportunity, resource mobilization, and achievement. These are the problems which seem to be at the heart of the college adjustment problem for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. While we have delayed in using the remedies - financial assistance, modified admission policies, talent searching, and remedial course work - that are now improving opportunities for these students, solution of problems on this level has never demanded more than an application of existing resources. The second - level problems whose solutions are likely to make the real differences in providing educational opportunities for the disadvantaged will require more systematic investigation and concerted effort."[1]

Since that was written colleges and universities have greatly increased their efforts to recruit "disadvantaged" students.

And yet on May 17, 1969, the Southern Education Reporting Service and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges issued a report ("State Universities and Black Americans") indicating that only 2 per cent of the students at the Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges are black. The Association includes virtually every state university in the country, and these universities enroll about 30 per cent of the nation's college students. Seventeen were founded as all-Negro institutions and more than 95 per cent of their students are Negro. "It is probable" the report states "that less than one per cent of the students receiving degrees in the 1967-68 school-year at the predominantly white schools are Negroes" (my emphasis).

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[1] Gordon, Edmund W. and Wilkerson, Doxey A. Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged, College Entrance Examination Board, New York, 1968.

Last year there were more foreign students in all American universities than American Negroes!

There can be no question that the college doing the most in these areas are the colleges with the fewest resources - the Negro colleges, on the verge of being written off as a useful institution in today's society. The years since Gordon and Wilkerson wrote their book have seen the attempt at a kind of replication of those institutions within institutions of greater power and prestige. The Afro-American studies programs, particularly as they have developed as quasi-autonomous parallel educational structures, would seem to be exactly that. They describe themselves as revolutionary and the curriculum is oriented to current black problems; but on close examination they appear to provide a refuge for young people who feel more secure with familiar materials and people. However, they may provide the bridge to the kind of college adjustment Gordon and Wilkerson talk about - "modification of mental postures and learning patterns that will in turn make possible devising of alternate input systems for knowledge and skills, the availability of social reference groups," etc.

Colleges and universities, in the face of severe public criticism, have lately acquiesced to the creation of Afro-American studies programs - often responding to the students' "demands" for them as the proposals they are, partly because administrations recognize the validity of including the Afro-American experience in any adequate educational experience. It would be encouraging to believe that they also acquiesce because they subscribe to a developmental perspective in education, and recognize that the along with the crises of identity and intimacy that all students are trying to solve,[1] disadvantaged ones are often trying to resolve the crises of trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry, the original solutions of which are so distorted by societal structures.

The whole matter is complicated because the black students are bringing their search for identity and for equality to the colleges and universities at the same time that those institutions find themselves the focus of a confluence of powerful forces, any one of which would be difficult to deal with. To begin with, the advent of Sputnik and the long Cold War demanded an increase in the pace and intensity of knowledge and skill and its mastery. The technology created to deal with the Cold War and the increases in population demanded more people who were more highly trained. Those two factors have brought people in larger numbers to higher education - finally even the underclasses. The Federal government--the military--industrial establishment--the technostructure--have subsidized universities and have harnessed their resources to their own needs. But those needs have not included the mastery of international conflict, poverty, and racism. Indeed new problems such as decayed cities, air and water and soil pollution, and monumental ugliness confronts one everywhere. And so the "Mature Generation" has lost authority in the eyes of the young, who have created their own culture and values, bringing us to what is currently described as the generation gap. The young bring that distrust of the authority of the older with them to college. Indeed it is those young people who are in college who challenge their elders on the most fundamental issues and in the most abrasive fashion. They bring challenges about sex morality, about drug usage, about authority, about honesty, and lately by dabbling in mysticism, witchcraft, and astrology--about the validity of the rational process itself. The tremendous interest in sensitivity groups, encounter groups, and other forms of conscious engagement with people emphasizes this search to balance the achievements in the mastery of the environment with achievement in the accelerating depersonalization of society.

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[1] See Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society, Norton, New York, 1964

Colleges have to deal with the kind of revolutionary developments in education that Jencks and Riesman describe in The Academic Revolution. Faculty roles and functions are altering before our eyes. Student demands for participation in government and curriculum development are common, and increasingly commonly accepted. The explosion of knowledge and improved methods for processing knowledge have changed or are changing the very concepts of education. Is education the transmission of culture as in a body of knowledge? Is it the training for a set of specific skills based on a body of knowledge? Is it the acquisition of a set of interchangeable tools for solving problems? And what is relevance? Is what was relevant to our forebears not relevant to our young? They are crying out for meaning because the institutions that once tried to provide some framework - the church, the family, the small face-to-face group - no longer do.

Colleges and universities are confronted daily with all the dilemmas of conflict in our national life and alteration of our educational goals. They are on the firing line dealing directly with the young people who are the cutting edge of our attempts to formulate some national purpose.

Antioch's Response

It was in this climate and within the context of institutional education's attempt to respond to the compelling concerns of today that Antioch set out to make its contribution. It gave some attention to its own nature (as it was and as it was becoming) and what it might be able to do best. It had to take into account its weaknesses as well as its strengths. To its advantage was its commitment to experimentalism, which would imply some openness to unexpected developments; its long history of co-operative education that was an expected part of every student's experience; its policy of diversity; and its faculty, administrators, and student body with liberal backgrounds and demonstrated commitment to social causes.

On the other hand, the experiences of those people had been largely theoretical and abstract. Despite the social action interests and behaviors of its students and faculty, the institution was clearly a part of the closed middle-class establishment. The amount of money and the College Board scores required for entrance were very high. As of July 1, 1969, there were less than 100 Negroes graduated from Antioch, 82 of whom were graduated during the period 1947-69. There were almost no Negroes or other members of minority groups on the faculty, and those few of poor white origin were "integrated" into the middle class. With the exception of the returning World War II veterans, the College's prior experience with students of this sort was very limited.

It was understood, by some at least, that the introduction of numbers of students who were "differently prepared" or "overlooked" (as they became known later, after "disadvantaged" and "culturally deprived" fell into disrepute) would make some difference in what the college was and would become. A choice had to be made between being selective and white middle class and less selective and more diverse. Even by this time it seemed very clear that the public universities and community colleges would become the avenue to higher education for the poorer elements of the population in the face of the skyrocketing costs and academic prerequisites of private institutions of higher learning.

Central questions arose. Could bright students who did not fit into the usual pattern of Antioch applicants be found? Would they come to Antioch? If they came, would they stay? Could the institution adapt to their presence? How much diversity could the college accommodate? Could it teach or make possible relevant learning - that is learning that equipped students to deal, not only with the demands of the larger world, but also with the special problems of the population groups of which they were a part? Could they bypass the "upward mobile" syndrome in which the entrance fee to the nouveaux middle class is the abandonment of old roots? In short would it be possible for an experimental college to develop ways of educating in expertise and leadership that would make possible serious implementations of real concern for the large problems of the contemporary world and provide clues for less flexible institutions?

In true Antioch fashion a committee was appointed to work out a design for the experiment. The refinement and implementation of the underlying idea was later delegated to one faculty member, Dr. Dixon Bush, assisted by a small staff of part time people (Jewel Graham, Ruth Stewart, John Hogarty), working under the office of the Dean of Students. This effort was later named the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, mostly to convey that it had to do with the education of people from various racial backgrounds. In the course of time the function approached the meaning that seems to be implied in the title, that is to say, learning about the relationships between the races.

The Program was set up as a device to facilitate the injection of the "newcomers" into the life of the community. Its staff members were to be responsible for the identifying, recruiting, preparation, admission, and orientation of the College of the students, for provision of remedial and tutorial assistance, financial support, continuing supportive counselling on academic, work, financial, and personal matters, follow-up through college and beyond and also for the revision and refinement of program and philosophy, and analysis and reporting to donors and other interested institutions. It was understood from the beginning that the functions assumed by this staff would be placed in those departments normally responsible for the functions as they began to isolate and learn how to deal with whatever related particularly to this population group.

The methodology developed by the staff grew out of its understanding of the College and of the social circumstances of the young people it now sought to serve. It was assumed that those young people who had been able to use and master the school situation so that they had College Board scores and grades that were acceptable to colleges, and whose need was largely financial, would be able to gain regular admission. It was also assumed that the children of parents who themselves had been exposed to education beyond high school and whose aspirations and values included college for their children would have a better than average chance. It was further assumed that there was a considerable number of young people (no one knew how many) who were bright, whose high schools were stultifying, or for whom high school activities were meaningless, who had the capacity to succeed in college (that is to say, to give to and to get from). To identify and recruit them, selector groups were set up in a small number of metropolitan areas where the college had active personal or institutional contacts, such as co-op employers of Antioch students, interested alumni, community alliances of one sort of another. Southwest Ohio as the immediately contiguous area was included. These selector groups were people who themselves knew young people first hand or knew at first hand people who did know them. There were different disciplines represented - ministers, social workers, teachers, counsellors, co-op employers, alumni, students. They were provided with a list of attributes that were seen as important for survival at Antioch - qualities that added up to intelligence, ego strength, creativity, and complexity. They were told that the College would accept their recommendations for admission (to the limits of its financial capabilities). And they were asked to find some fruitful post-secondary educational or work experience for those candidates not recommended to Antioch.

They were asked to identify students any time from the 9th grade on, to be in touch with and to encourage them, to help provide those educational, motivational, and enrichment experiences that would make them better prepared for Antioch when they get here. In the senior year, after acceptance and before matriculation, campus visits were arranged for all incoming students. In addition to social and academic exposure, there took place at that time some of the testing that forms a part of the experimental design, standard tests of intelligence, interest and personality inventories, and reading diagnostic tests. In addition some relationships that would be continuing and supportive were begun. Although the evidence is not yet in (it will not be in for years) on the validity of this kind of selection process, it has been clearly economical and effective as a way of identifying and helping young people. In various forms it is fairly widely used now, and there is as much to learn about it as a selection method as there is about the College Board scores.

One of the important responsibilities of the Program for Interracial Education was the provision of remedial and tutorial assistance. In the original design this was to begin early in high school and would continue, in a formal and organized way, throughout college. There were several factors that mitigated against the implementation of the original conception. The first is that college is not real for the people in this program in the same way that it is for middle class children until much later in the game, so that changing knowledge and skill acquisition have to be general rather than specialized toward college. Secondly, high school students have a wide range of commitments that take priority over special preparation - such as the regular school work, home responsibilities, and jobs. Further, Upward Bound was developed and other kinds of pre-college experiences became more commonly provided by the communities soon after the inception of APIE, and it seem to make more sense to encourage young people to participate in local programs. Finally, it became clear after students arrived on campus that the preparation and motivation patterns varied so widely among the students that any attempt to provide common remedial experiences was doomed to failure. Remedial work had to be tied to need, and tutorial work had to be tied to the specific concern of a student at a particular time.

Supportive counselling became the hub of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education once the students were on campus. They were provided, as are all students, with an assortment of counsellors - a dean, an academic adviser, an extramural adviser, a preceptor, preceptoral fellows, and what have you - but underlying all of these was a kind of active counselling responsibility that is not generally undertaken for most students. The policy early set and generally adhered to was easy availability of staff for talking, for helping students to solve problems, whether they had to do with academic, co-op job, personal, or financial matters. In addition periodic formal conferences are held with students during the year, and at the end of the first, second, and third years. The staff have also maintained a time for group discussion to share problems and concerns, and to express ideas on how the Program needed to change as it went along. A considerable part of this discussion over the past four years is recorded on videotape, and some has been kinescoped - made into a series of four films called "The Antioch Program for Interracial Education." This is available for use of other institutions upon request. The tape constitutes a valuable audio-visual record of the events of the past few years. Although there has been some turnover in staff, the project has been fortunate enough to have one person (the writer) who has been continuous (in various capacities) since the beginning.

Originally the financing and the financial counselling were carried in the office of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. Money and its handling was used as a counselling tool. Money was the symbolic bearer of attitudes and values and a great deal was learned about the use of money as an instrument for manipulating the establishment. The individual financial arrangements have been changed several times. The first impulse was to provide students with all they would need that they could not themselves provide, with the understanding that they would be willing to take on more of the costs as they earned or were able to borrow more money and as the value of a college education began to evidence itself. It soon became apparent that institutional assessment of need and student assessment of need were considerably at variance. Because of the time required to administer such a judgment (and because of rising costs), the arrangement was standardized to provide the equivalent of four years of room, board, fees and tuition, and a book allowance. At this point it seemed standardized enough to transfer to the Financial Aid Office. The Financial Aid Committee further refined the policy to redistribute the timing of the aid so that the equivalent of the four-year grant would be made over five years (the normal course at Antioch), commencing the student's own contribution with a graduated loan for the last three years. Certainly substantial financial aid counselling is required, and in recognition of that, a part-time position has been added to the Financial Aid Office.

In similar fashion the process of admission has been assumed almost entirely by the Office of Admissions working with the selector groups. In addition to the original group of cities - Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Southwest Ohio - several others have been added: New York, Washington, Boston, and Minneapolis. Kentucky has been included in the southwest Ohio selection. Again this necessitates more staff in the admissions office, even with the use of student assistants.

The underpinning of the regular counselling facilities will need to be continued for the foreseeable future and should be enlarged, particularly as the numbers and varieties of students increase. There is no real reason why they need to be focused in one place and named anything distinctive, but counselling services must be ample, clearly visible, and easily accessible.

The design of the experimental "Antioch Program for Interracial Education" as described above has foreshadowed some of what is to follow. The description of the raison d'etre of the "special services" and of the way they have changed in concept and practice over the years needs to be fitted into the context of what has actually happened as the students involved in this program have arrived and made their impact. Eleven arrived in the fall of 1965. By the fall of 1969, 92 will have been admitted, and present funding will permit an additional 20 in the fall of 1970, bringing the total to 112 admitted over 5 years.

The events relating to "interracial education" in general and to this Program in particular, the ordeals of the institution and of the students, for the sake of analysis and some degree of clarity, can be placed in a general sequence already identified in the kinescope series "The Antioch Program for Interracial Education." In the beginning the students aspired to fit in, to be like the others. As they became aware of blackness, they began to ponder what it meant to be black in a white college. Finally they have had to wrestle with the problem of black pride and black skills in the separate black and in the wider world. Every black student has had to face and to resolve in one way or another these problems.

Every non-black student in the "Program" has had these and more. For their class identifications were initially stronger than their race identification. When the shift went from class alliances to racial ones, they were isolated and further alienated. If the focus of attention of this report seems to be on the peculiar problems of black students, it is not because there have not been severe problems for the non-black ones. Its because of the urgency of the problems of black people in the United States and the conviction that if the educational dilemmas of black can be solved, those of non-blacks will be also.

In the following paragraphs there will be many sweeping generalizations. It is quite likely that none of them will hold true for any individual student. If the point that each of the students coming to the college through this program is different is overemphasized, it is to counteract the common inclination to generalize about them. The tendency of some Antioch community members to stereotype "Program" students and to act on the basis of that stereotype has been one of their most consistent and probably valid complaints.

Impact of the College on the Students

The Program was conceived and begun in a period that saw the educational deficiencies of the poor as remediable by instituting and imposing a process of academic manipulation in which the students would be able to "catch up." Although the Antioch Program did not completely subscribe to this philosophy, it was clearly involved in a kind of "compensatory education." It was hoped that some of the inequities could be erased before matriculation. It was made clear that although admission standards would vary, graduation standards would not, and Dixon Bush, in an unpublished paper titled "A Definition and Frame of Reference for Working with the Disadvantaged Students," spoke of the possibility of enabling persons to shift from one continuum to another at places where interlocks could be constructed. It was then understandable that students as they came defined their education in the same way that "regular" students did, and in so doing posed for themselves the impossible task of adding to their own store of knowledge and experience that possessed by their new found peers. The assurance that they had "as much to teach as to learn" was not borne out by their experiences in classes, in bull sessions, in discussions where everybody seemed to know the rules of the game better than they. Indeed sometimes they were not even sure of what the game was. They were confused by the level of abstraction, the introspection, and the esoteric and unreal nature of the problems that seemed to require so much time and attention. Since the rules of the game were obscure, the best way to avoid exposure of ignorance was to avoid contact, and so the most persistent and pervasive problem of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education was made evident.

The arrival of initial students coincided with establishment of the "First-Year Program," a loosening of the academic structures for freshmen, and it is still unclear whether its strengths outweighed it hazards for them. On the one hand it permitted exploration of the new milieu with a minimum of pressure. They could explore new fields, expand in old ones, and repair old deficiencies. On the other hand it fostered the natural inclination of the stranger to avoid contact with the strange. They were often not secure enough to take part in the structured arrangements that were there. Besides, as in any new venture, the rules and structures of the First-Year Program itself were undergoing continuous change.

There was a kind of belief in magic, both on the part of the institution and on the part of the students. The College believed that it knew how to make possible the engagement in the learning process of people who had had 17-18 years of "being turned off," and that it could do it with a minimum dislocation of the status quo. The students believed in the omniscience and omnipotence of the institution, and that if it judged that they had "potential," it would be evident once they got to the campus. What really happened was the initiation of a process.

The students learned that there was a different world, and that it was peopled by all kinds of persons likable and not so likable. They learned not to judge a person by what he wore. They began to question the materialistic values of the poor. They learned that the settling of quarrels here was through verbal battles rather than physical ones. They learned that education was not a commodity to be purchased, but a process to be entered into. They learned that education had to do with learning to live as well as earning a living. The Negro students learned that they embarrassed their Negro classmates. The non-black ones learned that they too were marginal. Some learned these things. It is not clear what some others learned.

They grew tired of talking about the "Cool World." They didn't want to talk about what it means to be poor, or black, or from the inner city. They began to question the value of what was being taught to what they wanted to be and do. They began to draw together and to draw strength from one another in support of the validity of their own backgrounds. They grew almost paranoid in their statements that Antioch brought them here to recruit them for white middle class and to alienate them from their people. What they were saying was that they were afraid of being seduced by the comforts of the middle class and were afraid that they would be distracted from the goal they came with - that of helping others like themselves.

This was the time when "Black Power" and "Black Pride" became the battle cry for Negroes, "Black" and "Unity" and "Survival" became the slogans. Enough students had been admitted to the College through the Antioch Program for Interracial Education to make it abundantly clear that they were going to be predominantly black and male, and the pattern doubled the number of black students on campus. Class lines weakened among the blacks and they began to meet together to talk about what it means to be black, and especially what it means to be black in a white college.

The Black Student Forum was born. "Black unity," "black consciousness," and "black pride" changed the philosophy, the social structures, and the behavior patterns of black students. Black clustering, which started in a casual way as soon as there were enough black students on campus, became compelling. It was a declaration of allegiance that was demanded - a public commitment to blackness.

The students began to articulate the necessity for changing the self-image, for being proud and assertive rather than ashamed and passive. They talked about the need to acquire the knowledge and the skills of "the man" as well as a new sense of being. They explored the idea of the value of "friends" living together in a hall even though they might all happen to be black. They raised questions about the relevance of much of the curriculum to them and worked on ways of instituting change. Many alternatives were discussed.

One approach that was briefly explored was the designation of one academic quarter as a "Black Quarter," during which the Antioch community would put some emphasis on learning what it could about the black experience in America, and on a design for meaningful curriculum in this area for all of its students. An ad hoc committee met several times, finally aborting when it appeared to be duplicating the efforts of the Black Student Forum. Members of that group were trying to use various ways of injecting their interests into the curriculum--by way of student-initiated courses, (some in curriculum development), courses in black history and literature, and independent studies. There was no unwillingness to relate to whites in the search. At one point "Soul Bus to Brotherland," a morality play about race relations by Bill Jamison, was presented by a student group to the college community and to the Yellow Springs community as a stimulus to discussion. A touring interracial company presented African folk tales to school children. And then Martin Luther King was assassinated.

It was not until after that fateful event early in the spring quarter of 1968 that the black students at Antioch coalesced into a Black Movement. Despite the projected image of Dr. King as losing his appeal for the young, an engulfing bitterness and despair followed in the wake of his murder. After staying up all night, Antioch black students spent the day marching in downtown Yellow Springs, permitting no whites to participate in the march or to pass the line (traffic was rerouted). Practically every black student on campus participated.

After that it was a simple matter to increase participation in the Black Student Forum. The decision was made. It was of paramount importance to recognize and embrace the fact that one was black and that one's life should be devoted to one cause - black survival.

Like "black power," "black survival" has become an aggregate of many meanings, not always consistent. It came to be interpreted by black students on Antioch's campus, as on others, as the obligation to be come assertive about learning, the duty to take a hand in deciding what they would learn so they would not feel seduced or manipulated by a white middle class institution. So they began to work in earnest on curriculum reform. One student put it succintly when he told his white classmates in a seminar in communications that he had come to learn how to deal with whites not how to communicate. Still black students were trying to communicate - one organized a student-initiated course called "Black Alienation - White Response."

By midsummer the Black Student Forum had a proposal to make to the administration. Their "demands" included the establishment of an Afro-American Studies Institute, with courses designed and taught by black people, contiguous living quarters, and continuation of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education with a black director - all to become effective by fall.

The total number of black students (120) was expected to reach 5-6 per cent by fall. Not all of these, of course, had been admitted through the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. About half of them had. There is no way to determine, however, how many of the others had been admitted whose credentials varied significantly from those generally used by the Admissions Office. Three-fifths of the black students in 1968 enrolled received one sort of financial aid or another from the college.

And so at the beginning of the fall quarter the Afro-American Studies Institute (AASI) was initiated. In the eyes of the students it was a quasi-autonomous institute that would offer a course of study to provide the relevant education not presently offered by the College and leading to the Antioch degree. In its general outlines it fit all of the criteria that had come to be sacrosant at Antioch. The educational processes included work, study, and community. Students not only participated - they ran it. They taught, learned, administered, provided jobs, worked. Some of the black students elected to live together in a series of halls which they called NYAMBI UMOJA or Unity House.

The established administrative framework already provided for student-initiated courses and for students to petition to live together. There was already the precedent of students living and studying together in "inner colleges." What was added was the dimension of blackness as a requisite for participation. In the early projections the black students planned to have "subjective" courses for themselves, and "objective" courses that would be offered to white students.

With the beginning of the fall quarter and the establishment of AASI the ripple of discomfort that began with the clustering of the black students in the dining hall reached a giant wave of shock. The establishment of NYAMBI UMOJA on the main street of the campus, distinctly marked with a large red and black sign, was interpreted by some as an affront to the liberal image of the College. Even worse, it was rumored that whites were not allowed in. One got the distinct impression that the black students made a deliberate effort to distance whites so that they would be free to "do their own thing." Indeed, the first phase of the curriculum was termed "decolonization of the mind." It encompassed expression of long repressed hostility, which not unexpectedly considerably exacerbated racial tensions on campus.

Questions were raised about the possible violation of the Civil Rights Act. These came to the attention of the Department of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in March, 1969, after the Institute had been in existence a bare six months. A team of investigators came to the campus and notified the College that it would not be in violation if it saw to it that no white students who wished to participate were denied admission, refrained from notifying incoming freshmen that a "black dormitory" was available, and submitted periodic reports.

Like white students at Antioch, black students sought to reject white middle class values (mostly material), to embrace some of the life style of the lower class (possibly so that they could stay in contact with it in order to work for a unified community), and to effect social reform. In addition they sought to re-establish cultural ties with Africa, to learn about the cultural accomplishment of Afro-Americans, to study the social, economic, and political situation of Afro-Americans from a black viewpoint, and to gain particular skills that would be useful to the collectivity of black people.

It is not the purpose of this paper to analyze or report on the Afro-American Institute any more than it is to analyze or report on any of the Antioch curriculum. One assumes that the faculty and students who are involved in its evolution will do that when they are ready. But it is imperative to look at APIE student response to the entire educational program, including the Afro-American Studies Institute. The leadership of the Institute has been fluid, but it is possible to say that some of the leaders have been APIE students. Many of the participants have been APIE students.

The significant thing about the Institute for APIE is that it has provided a major breakthrough to the sensitivities of the community on the inconsistencies of present educational policy and program as they relate to blacks - and indeed to other minority groups (it is only that our attention has been claimed by blacks). It has provided some avenues for actual experimentation with kinds of educational processes and programs. It has given students an opportunity to set up, teach, administer a learning experience. It has made a way for them to affect their own destiny, to be assertive about learning. It is beset with problems from within and attack from without, but there is learning going on that is not otherwise possible.

Every American of African descent, in the process of growing up, has to figure out what it means to grow up black in a white world, and he has to work out a personal answer. In the same way, every black student at Antioch (or any other "white" college for that matter) has to figure out what it means to be a black student at a white college, and he has to work out a personal answer that resolves the contradiction between what he says he believes about the nature of white oppression and how he acts on his beliefs. His ability to remain at Antioch and the possibility of his embarking on a relevant educational process here depend on his ability to cope with that contradiction. So students in the APIE face the question and resolve it in one way or another. For some the regular curriculum offers no stimulation. To others the AASI offers no solution. Most dabble in both or make the judgment that both can contribute answers to the questions that plague them: Who am I? and, What can I do? And/or What must I be able to do?

In the early years, when the likelihood of graduation seems remote, there is a tendency to scorn the degree, to lean toward the blithe announcement that learning what one wants, or needs (interpreted as synonomous with wants), is more important than fulfilling degree requirements, and in a sense this is true. By the third year, if attainment of the degree has come within the realm of possibility, aspirations are articulated differently. While there seems to be no relaxation of the determination to return to the black community, there is a more conventional assessment of the credentials they need to take with them. Those credential goals are increasingly based on what they perceive to be black community needs, and less on their own dreams of success or glory or their natural inclinations. Later the report will examine in some detail their career aspirations and how they change.

The experiment of the Interracial Program has coincided with the creation of other experimental programs - including the unstructured first-year program, which has undergone continuous criticism and change since its inception; the abolition of grades in favor of a credit-accumulation system, coeducational dormitories, changing functions of Community Government, reorganization of curriculum into institutes, proliferation of student-initiated courses. There has been so much change and experimentation that it is now institutionalized by way of budgetary allocations to "ventures" for which permanence is neither desired nor anticipated. All this has affected -- no one knows how yet -- the way the College (and through it the Program) has operated with students.

This narrative account would not be complete without some attention to the staffing of the Program, even though one risks distortions in perception because of the close time perspective. During the five years, there has been fluctuation in structure, but stability in the function of staff. The personnel has changed somewhat. Roles have varied.

Since its inception the entire operation has been under the benign supervision of the Dean of Students Office. During the first year, the exploratory and initiating year, the year when selector groups were organized and institutional arrangements made, the staff consisted of one full-time and three part-time people. The director was Dr. Dixon Bush, a long-time faculty member who had been in the Extramural Department. He was assisted by a part-time contribution from another member of that department (John Hogarty), the half-time help of an alumna who had worked for some time in the Dean's Office (Ruth Stewart), and the social-worker wife of an alumnus who was re-entering the job market (Jewel Graham). These people worked out the division of labor among themselves as befitted their various competencies. After working out assignments for working with particular selector groups, these fell out to be the main functions: admissions, administration, academic and personal counselling, group counselling, financial counselling, and data collection. In the beginning the staff related to all of the students. However, later it became useful to make particular assignments.

The third year the director was on sabbatical, the social worker became the acting director, and a young man of theological background (Alex Barton) was hired to augment the staff in the absence of the director. There was some re-alignment of tasks. Mr. Barton concentrated on the whole matter of academic involvement, including the provision of remedial and tutorial experiences. Administration was carried by the acting director and financial counselling remained in the hands of the Administrative Associate, Mrs. Stewart. She was on leave the fourth year, and Alex Barton also left; but the director returned from sabbatical, and there was a further re-alignment of tasks. By this time financial arrangements lent themselves to more standardization, the philosophy of group tutoring and remedial work had been abandoned, and administration and counselling had become central. That year the decision was made to begin transferring admissions and financial aid functions. The director of admissions worked with one of the selector groups, and the financial aid function was transferred to the Financial Aid Office.

The retiring Dean of Students was replace with a long-time member of his staff. During the course of the year, it became clear that the director of APIE who was white was going to be a casualty of the black movement on campus and the predominance of black students in the Interracial Education Program. Indeed his resignation was specifically listed in the black demands.

This year has been one in which the female black social worker has been the director-counsellor, assisted by the Administrative Associate (also female). They have acted as consultants to the Office of Admissions, which has taken over the work with the selector groups almost entirely and with the Office of Financial Aid. There has been greater stress on academic counselling by this office as the new academic evaluation process begins to take form and to be implemented. It may appear that the strategy has been to increase the number of students and to decrease the staff. The addition of a black man to the dean's office, and the presence of more black faculty and staff, as well as the increasing number of black students and students in the Program, has meant in fact that there could be a dispersal of supportive roles. While the staff has played a more indirect role in some respects, it has continued to take the initiative in being aware of the progress of all the students. Students have been employed by the Program as tutors, counselling assistants, and secretarial assistants, and there has always been a secretary. Next year there will undoubtedly be still further changes. Nonetheless, the counselling and consultative functions clearly need to be maintained.

Despite the changes, there has been remarkable consistency in role and function of the Office itself. First of all Program personnel represent the institutional commitment to the idea of extending educational opportunity. They are also the link to the past, having been in touch with the selection process, perhaps the selectors themselves, and having begun a relationship with the student at the point of acceptance, a relationship reinforced by the spring visit, and continued through formal and informal communication through the months or years prior to his admission. They have been a source of security to the students, but also a source of uneasiness because of their continuing expression of concern. If motivation can be defined as the expectations of significant others, they try to be "significant others" who have certain expectations.

Although increasingly less so, the Office (despite who has occupied the staff roles at the time) has served in loco parentis in an institution that most definitely does not so serve. The "parentis" in this context is defined as that of the parent not in the parent-child relationship, but in the parent-adolescent one, where under the best circumstances the parent is able to love and let go - to be supportive, but to free. In the classic tradition of personality development, then, the Office - the staff - has been a source of ambivalence - the ambivalence already mentioned of security and nagging insecurity; of dependence and independence; of toleration, maybe even affection, and hostility.

Unfortunately the way that the staff has happened to fluctuate has meant that there has been a reproduction of what happens all too often in families. While the maternal role has been filled by the same person in a consistent and continuing way, the paternal role has been filled by different people whose attitudes, values, and ways of working were, of course, different. The "father" has disappeared, reappeared, changed, operated in a remote fashion (most recently in admissions, financial aid, and dean's offices). Even though it is difficult, indeed impossible, to determine what this means or might mean in the evaluation of the total process, it needs to be kept in mind as one tries to understand what is happening in this Program.

The counselling function has been essentially supportive and many-pronged, first to supply belief in and encouragement of the person, that is to say, self-validation; to help in analyzing and working out solutions to problems, be they personal, social, academic, or financial; to promote encounter with other people and experiences; and to know in a general way what is going on with the student. It has dimensions that are quite specifically related to how he is doing academically, how he can work toward graduation as a goal, and where he is in the process. It has been individual largely and group somewhat. Over the years there has been a weekly discussion group. Although it still meets, some of the functions it once served are now met by other groups (T-groups, workshops, Unity House meetings).

The Antioch Program for Interracial Education was designed expressly as an experimental program. Although this implies no lack of commitment, it has been in some sense tentative. The students from time to time have used the "guinea pig" nomenclature to express their insecurity about their status in an "experimental" project. They are told about our obligation to report on their progress, sometimes as individuals, invariably as a group, to the various agencies and organizations that have donated money or have some specific interest. They agree, on entry, to participate in the "experimental aspects" of the program.

By fall quarter of 1969, some 92 students will have been admitted. The next section proposes to deal with two questions: who came, and who has survived?

Description of the Students

The 92 students in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, who were enrolled from 1965 to 1969, come from 11 different cities (Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Flint, Michigan; Springfield, Cincinnati, Dayton, Xenia, Ohio; Philadelphia, Boston, Trenton, New Jersey; New York, Washington, D.C., New Haven, Connecticut) and from rural Kentucky. Nineteen of the 92 are known to have started life in some rural area, mostly in the South. They were recommended to selector groups by settlement workers, community workers, ministers, social workers, OEO agencies, Upward Bound programs, Antioch students, Antioch alumni, Antioch co-op employers, high school teachers, high school counsellors. Antioch students, alumni, faculty and co-op employers were involved in the selection process for the greater proportion of the students. Some recommended themselves either to the recommending person, or to the selector group itself. A few applied directly to the College through the Admissions Office and were deemed eligible, either because of an administrative decision at that point, or because of a deliberate test of the efficacy of recruiting through regular admission to the Interracial Program.

Most of the 92 fell within the usual limits of age for admission to College. About 62 per cent were 17 or 18 at the time of entry, 30 per cent were 19 or 20, and less than 10 per cent were older than 21. Most entering Antioch students are 18.

The students have been consistently and overwhelmingly male and black. Seventy per cent are male, and almost 90 per cent are black. In this context non-black is being defined to include white, Indian, and Spanish speaking. This is not quite accurate, because some Puerto Rican students define themselves as black.

They come from families in the lower ranges of the socio-economic scales. Seventy per cent of those for whom economic opportunity grants have been calculated qualify for the maximum grant. Over 90 per cent qualify for some EOG money.

The parents work, when they are working, as laborers, operatives, service and clerical workers. Two-thirds of the fathers are working. As for the other third, either the occupations are unknown, or they are unemployed, disabled, or retired, or the fathers are deceased (15 per cent are deceased). Of the two-thirds working, 66 per cent are laborers (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled), 17 per cent are operatives (mostly of vehicles), 10 per cent work in some clerical field, and 7 per cent work in a service field. One is in the armed services. Of the mothers, thirty-eight per cent are housewives. Fewer than half work. They work as domestics (17 per cent), clerical (19 per cent), laborers (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) (26 per cent) and in the service fields (40 per cent) - (including teacher aides, nurses aides, social service aides).

Where the education of the parents is known, a significant proportion have advanced to high school or beyond. Half of the fathers, where the information is known (it is known for about two-thirds of the total), graduated from high school: 87 per cent got to high school or beyond, and only 14 per cent did not advance beyond elementary school. There is information about the education of some 80 per cent of the mothers. They are slightly less well educated then the fathers. Like the fathers, there is a high proportion who have advanced to high school or beyond (78 per cent). Forty-seven per cent graduated from high school. Twenty-one per cent (contrasted with 14 per cent for the fathers) have only an elementary school education.

Where there are older siblings and where the information is available, 19 of the 92, when they matriculated, had siblings who were in or who had been in some educational experience beyond high school.

Thirty-five per cent of the parents are known to be together. Almost half are known to be widowed, separated, divorced, or deceased. For the rest, the marital status of the parents is not known. The 35 per cent does not include alternate family arrangements such as remarriages, foster homes, grandmothers. Some students are on their own, having been essentially self-supporting before coming to Antioch. Of the 92 students, 30 per cent have 2 or fewer siblings, 30 per cent have 3, 4, or 5 siblings, and 25 per cent have 6 to 11 siblings.

Thus a picture begins to emerge of the students who have been selected to participate in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education over the past five years. It is a portrait of rich diversity in the design and color of individuals and individual circumstances against a common social economic and cultural background. The students are predominately black and male. They are somewhat older than the run-of-the-mill entering students. Their parents have limited financial resources, are employed (or underemployed) in occupations requiring less education and training. The fathers are a little better educated than the mothers, and a substantial number of both have gotten to high school or beyond. At least a third of the parents are together and the families range in size from 1-12, with no clustering.

The non-blacks comprise a minority number of the total. Because of their small proportion, and because from cursory examination there do not seem to be differences that are notable and significant in those numbers, no attempt has been made to analyze and/or contrast the characteristics of the non-black students with the black ones. For similar reasons, the characteristics of the females have not been separately examined. However, the numbers in all categories appear in tables in the appendix.

The coming of the students in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education did indeed introduce new dimensions of class and ethnic diversity into the student body. The assumption would be that this would at the same time introduce extensive educational and cultural diversity.

College Entrance Examination Board scores, high school grades, class rank, extracurricular activities, personal and school reference are probably the most important tools used by college admissions offices to screen applicants. It has already been pointed out that these traditional indices were ignored for the participants in APIE. Since the same kind of data is required of all applicants, it is available for the APIE students, and it is interesting to see how APIE students perform by these measures.

Slightly over 30 per cent of the students for whom class rank is known were in the upper fifth of their classes, half were in the upper two-fifths, and half in the lower three-fifths. In the College Board aptitude tests, scores range from 295 to 704 on the verbal tests (median 435) and 295 to 626 on the math (median 402). The students come from 62 different high schools, almost entirely public and inner city. There are a few exceptions, such as students attending private preparatory schools like those participating in the Independent Schools Talent Search Program, and those set up especially in the inner city, like Harlem Prep. A few students did not graduate from high school, although most of these have high school equivalency certification from special programs like the Job Corps, the U.S. Armed Forces Institute, or some other community program. An examination of high school grades reveals a very wide scattering, with most of the clustering in the B-C range, with a scattering of A's, and some D's and F's.

Thirty-six of the 92 students are known to have participated in some identifiable program of planned enrichment experience, at least four in Upward Bound. Over the last five years a great many more of these programs have become available and include very hard work to help their students get to a suitable college.

After acceptance and before matriculation the students are invited to spend a few days on campus when they have the opportunity to share the social and academic life of the community, to get acquainted with some supportive individuals, and to verify their decision to come. During that visit, a reading diagnostic test, the Omnibus Personality Inventory, and a vocational interest inventory (Kuder or Strong) are administered; and up to this year the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale has also been administered.

If one makes allowance for educational and cultural deficiencies, the WAIS scores of all of the students fall within the average or better than average range, and many students score on superior levels. Eight, or 12 per cent of the full scores are a little less than 100 (all in the upper 90's), 30 per cent are in the 100-109 range, 35 per cent between 110 and 119, and 23 per cent in the superior ranges above 120. The scores on the verbal scales are significantly higher than those on the performance scales, thus affecting the full scale. On the verbal scales, 1 out of 20 students scores under 100, and one out of 4 scores over 120. On the performance scales, on the other hand, 1 out of 3 scores under 100, and 1 out of 10 scores over 120. Seventy-five per cent score 110 or better on the verbal; not quite half do that well on the performance scales.

A cursory examination of 40 scores from the reading test that was administered indicates that over half probably read adequately or better, over a quarter read adequately but should improve speed and/or comprehension, and about a sixth read so far below average that they need substantial help.

According to the interest inventories and expressed interest, vocational interests tended at the time of entrance to cluster in the social science fields - teaching, social work, law-sociology, psychology, anthropology, and political science. Sixty-three of the 92 express interest in these fields. There is some lesser interest in business, medicine, soil conservation, physical therapy, science or math, and a bare mention of journalism, art, theology, history and languages.

Within six weeks after entry, in 1965 and 1966, the students in the Program were asked to fill out a questionnaire that was developed for use in evaluating the impact of the First-Year Program on certain kinds of attitudes and aspirations. It was also administered to small random samples of the entering classes of fall 1964 and fall 1965. In June of 1968, Lois Sparks, Office of Program Development and Research in Education, wrote a paper that makes a comparative analysis of the responses to the questions and is entitled "Separatism at Antioch, A Study of the Antioch Interracial Education Program." From responses to questions on "academic and vocational goals," "social styles and references," "some self-concepts," and "some I-thou attitudes," she summarizes the characteristics of the students in the Interracial Program at the time of entry in the following manner:

> "We have found in this study that students in the Antioch Interracial Education Program differ from students who enter Antioch through the normal channels on a number of important characteristics, at least at entry. As a group, the APIE students are more instrumental and less expressive in their educational and vocational expectations and goals. They are more pragmatic and concrete in their thinking, less interested in ideas and experiences for their own sake. They are more 'collegiate' in their social styles and preferences. They describe themselves as 'alienated' from those around them. Their self-esteem is notably lower, and this is reflected in a generally lower regard for people in general."[1]

A total of 96 students have been selected for the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. Ninety-two of these will have matriculated as of fall, 1969. There are 78 still enrolled. Of the 71 students who have matriculated up to this year, then, about one-fifth have withdrawn.

There is not yet enough data to establish with any kind of certainty any common characteristics of the dropouts, or of the survivors, for that matter. It is true that a higher proportion of the males than the females have dropped out (11 out of 49 for males, compared to 3 out of 22 females) and a higher proportion of the blacks than non-blacks (12 out of 62 blacks, 2 out of 9 non-blacks). Also, there seems to be some greater tendency for people with higher scores on the CEEB math test as opposed to the verbal scores to withdraw. The median in the math test for the withdrawals is 450 as compared to 402 for the whole population, and the median verbal score for the withdrawals is 397 while it is 435 for the group.

Students who withdrew came from the same kinds of schools as those still here. The distribution of class rank was not greatly different. (Nine were from the upper two-fifths.) More than half had had some kind of experience that could be described as "enrichment." Two out of three scored over 110 on the Weschler (about the same as the students still enrolled).

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[1] Sparks, Lois, "Separatism at Antioch, A Study of the Antioch Interracial Education Program," June 1968, unpublished paper, p. 19.

There seem to be no distinctively different characteristics of the socio-economic status of the withdrawals. About half come from intact families. There is a wide range of family size. More than a third of the fathers graduated from high school and less than a third of the mothers. A third of the fathers have semi-skilled occupations, less than a third of the mothers. About half of the mothers are listed as housewives. Almost all of the students who withdrew were receiving the full Economic Opportunity Grant. Only one received nothing, and he left before the institution of that program.

Most of the students who have withdrawn up to this point have withdrawn at their own initiative - some because they could not survive the orientation period long enough to work out their own adaptations, some because they could not relate the liberal arts experience offered here to the imperatives of their own lives, some because they felt they would not be able to master the formal academic situation, some because the environment was simply too alien, and some because more meaningful and attractive opportunities opened up elsewhere.

There are three points of formal evaluation - one at the end of the first year to review with the student his first year, to re-explain the evaluation process, and to set goals for the next year; one at the end of the second year to repeat the same process; and one at the end of the third year, at which time the student is expected to have made something approaching two years of progress. That is to say, he is expected to have accumulated 60 credits, to have passed two out of three of the general education level-one achievement exams, to have had a substantial amount of satisfactory job experience, to have selected a field of concentration, and to have developed a plan for graduation. If these criteria are met, the staff of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education recommends to the Office of Financial Aid that the student continue to receive financial support. If they are not met, but there are extenuating circumstances, an interim period away from the College with specific tasks to be accomplished before continuation might be recommended. The "extenuating circumstances" are judged in the light of the evidence that the student is really engaged in his education here.

This kind of evaluation was arrived at after several years of testing and investigation. In the first place it was not certain how long should be allowed for graduation. This is important not so much because there is any one predetermined period of time (although 5 years is the norm) as much as the need for some judgment for budgeting purposes of how much money should be allowed for each student. Since it was felt that students should make some contribution of their own, it was decided that funds that would pay the equivalent of the costs for four out of five years would be provided. All funds for aid after four years would come from aid sources normally used by all students. The reality of this concept is being tested for the first time in the coming year with the advent of the fifth year for the 1965 entrants.

The evaluation process has evolved in the way that it has because the student by that time is able to assess the value of Antioch for his own educational purposes - to have decided whether he wants to graduate, whether he can, graduate, and to work out a way to graduate. He is deciding whether staying at Antioch is worth the further investment of his time, energy, and money.

Twenty-eight out of 41 have survived this three-year process. Five out of the 11 who matriculated in 1965 are still enrolled. Two of those 5 are not likely to graduate. Three, possibly four, of those who withdrew before the end of the three years are eligible for and interested in eventual readmission. Three are working toward graduation, although not all in 1970. Of the 27 matriculants of 1966 (plus 1 transfer in 1967), 20 are still enrolled. Three are on interim arrangements, and one will withdraw at the end of the 1969 year.

Most students who withdraw (fully half) are leaving in the middle of the third year. This supports the contention that this is a critical decision-making time for the student himself. A fourth of those leaving have left at the end of the first year, and a small proportion at the end of the second year. Of the withdrawals three are in the armed services (one just completed Officer's Candidate School, and one was expecting to be sent to Vietnam), two are women who have married, three have enrolled in other institutions, and five are working.

Those who remain in college either have met substantially the requirements above described or are clearly involved in the learning process at Antioch.

This has meant that many have needed to retake the skills examinations and the level-one achievement examinations, and on occasion to submit alternative evidence of competence in the areas. Twenty-eight have taken the Baldridge Reading and Study Skills Course offered by the College.

About half of the current students could graduate in 5 years. The rest will probably need at least 6. And it is possible to take longer, depending on financial resources available. The fields they have chosen are political science, education, sociology, psychology, chemistry, biology, engineering, management engineering, art, drama, and interdisciplinary majors in the social sciences.

Most of them are involved in some way in the Afro-American Studies Institute (living in the dorm, studying, working, or sympathizing), about half of them heavily. That is to say, they have assigned half of their normal study load for the year - at least 15 hours - to AASI offerings and have lived in Unity House and/or worked for the Institute. Some have taken leadership positions. Just as black students in the Interracial Program constitute about half the black students on campus; they apparently constitute about half the class enrollment of the AASI. At least this was true in the enrollment lists for the fall and spring quarters.

As it is for all students, the extramural experience has been of crucial importance in the educational scheme for students in the Interracial Program. Those presently enrolled have spent roughly 180 job periods in a hundred different places, mostly away from Yellow Springs. Only 27 of those periods were spent in Yellow Springs, only 12 were spent working for the College, and 11 for the Afro-American Studies Institute. Several were spent as far away as Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Great Britain. Some have decided to look for their own jobs under an "own plans" arrangement and have ended up on an interim vacation. Others have become involved in a job and have stayed in it for an interim work year. Some have been fired, some have withdrawn to accept permanent job offers from their co-op employers. At the time of this writing 120 job ratings were available. Eighty-five per cent of those ratings were average or better. Three-quarters were above average - 22 per cent excellent, only 6 per cent judged not satisfactory.

On pages xxii and xxv in the Appendix there are lists of employing organizations and the kinds of jobs held. They are infinitely varied. Although a very large proportion of the jobs have been in service fields, a substantial number have been in business, and in technical and arts areas. Students have taught children in ghetto schools, organized welfare mothers, registered voters, helped to set up co-operative education programs, worked in labs, operated computers, acted, taken pictures, and more. And they have seen this experience as education relevant to who they are and what they want to be.

APIE students have travelled away from the campus for occasions other than co-op jobs. Two have spent a year in Africa (Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, and University of East Africa in Dar Ses Salaam, Tanzania) in the Antioch Education Abroad program. Three have studies and/or worked in Mexico. Two have worked in Great Britain. Two have been involved in the Antioch "Year in Washington" Program, one in the "Hawaiian Beachhead," two are going to the fledgling Antioch-Columbia project. Several have worked in the Adams-Morgan School in Washington when Antioch was there.

Participation in the community is a part of the educational process at Antioch and has been a part of the education of students in the Interracial Program. Half a dozen have served on the Community Council (an elective office), and on various committees of the Council. Several have worked on the student newspaper. Six have been selected as preceptoral fellows. Many were active in the Black Student Forum, which preceded the establishment of the Afro-American Studies Institute. Several appeared in "The Antioch Adventure," a student produced movie about campus life.[1]

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[1] Produced by Marc Stone, "The Antioch Adventure," Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1967

They have become involved in practically all facets of the College. What is very likely the most significant involvement is not quantifiable, and is perhaps observable only to those who are in continuing contact with developing individuals. Such a person sees a clarification and strengthening of goals, a determination to discover and achieve, and a process of acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to work at the problems of the Inner Cities. Such a one sees redefinitions of education - its processes and its substance. Students come by and large with an instrumentalist notion of a college education - they expected to be trained to do something. The questions raised about the relationship of a liberal education to a liberating education and a liberating education for black people (for those students who were black) led to the concept of the AASI. That involvement again poses the challenge to most students of being liberated to do something for the community.

Perhaps the single most important development is a growing tendency in students to abandon passivity with regard to this education. Antioch demands assertiveness as a condition of survival. The phenomenon of the AASI is a demonstration of it.

Since they first came, the students in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education have been talking about what they hoped to get out of the experience at Antioch. One place and occasion has been the weekly discussion group, which has been on occasion recorded via videotape. In the discussion group they talk about the effect of the College on them; but they are also aware that their presence makes a difference, and so they talk about their effect on the College. It is very likely impossible to assess the full dimensions of their impact on the College. It goes almost without saying that there has been one, and that it has been very great indeed.

Impact of the Students on the College

When the Program was christened the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, it was not intended to be a curriculum-bearing, formalized teaching department on race relations. It has, however, become the vehicle for education in race relations because it has, as it has "blackened," provided opportunity for people of different races to know one another and to learn about the differing problems facing their respective racial groups.

In the report, "The Antioch Program for Interracial Education - The First Three Years," the "Impact of the Students on the College" is described as follows:

> "...The nature of the impact is complex, and since its analysis is dependent on the random informal observations and comments which have come to the staff, it is partial and very likely distorted.

The most immediate, and probably the most powerful result of this new infusion was in the area of community. The designers of the Program were aware of the tremendous reservoirs of good will and idealism on the campus. The emphasis on individual development, the enthusiasm for educational pioneering, the liberal backgrounds of the students all augured well for the fledgling idea. On the other hand, high tuition, the rising standards of admission, the emphasis on academic excellence were enough of a homogenising effect to raise the question of whether the college could be hospitable to students of another ilk. After all, the students coming through regular channels were very likely to be 'short-changed children of suburbia' whose lives had been protected from contact with the poor and the black. Whether their ideals could survive the reality was a part of the risk.

Very soon many of the Interracial students identified one another and began to spend a great deal of time together. They talked together socially, they visited together, studied together, danced together, played together, and at almost every meal, ate together. While this was not true of all Interracial Program Negro students, it was true of enough so it was perceived as a 'sticking together' of the whole group to the exclusion of white students. Middle-class Negro students and Interracial students who wanted to explore a variety of relationships felt coerced to participation in the ingroup. The observation was often made that the protective grouping prevented students from making the kinds of relationships that lead to mutual teaching and learning on the part of students from many backgrounds.

Some students were franker. One said that his interpretation of the feelings of many Antioch students was one of resentment at the newcomers who brought with them the social problems of the 'outside world.' He said there were students at Antioch who looked on the college as a retreat from their co-op experiences where they often had to deal with the same sort of people and problems. Another said that he was enthusiastic about the idea of the program but knew that he was afraid of the students when there were more than 2 or 3 together whom he didn't know. And it must be said that some of the male Interracial students are aware of this feeling and seek to foster it by exaggerating or at least preserving the street swagger and the in-group language of the ghetto. A student whose parents were sacrificing greatly to send him to Antioch was openly angry that some students who had not worked as hard as he had--who were patently less 'deserving and well prepared' had a 'free ride' when he was uncertain of his financial tenure from quarter to quarter. Still another student (Negro) was upset because he was afraid of being identified with the Interracial students--of losing his favored status as one of the few Negroes on campus. Still another, bothered at rising college costs, worried lest his tuition was being increased to subsidize the unprepared.

Attitudes run the gamut, and students, Interracial and non-Interracial, can expose themselves to one another or protect themselves from one another as much as they like. Those who have the most positive feelings for one another appear to be those who have taken the time and the energy to try to understand one another as persons. Of course, some have come to know one another fairly well, and to detest one another cordially, based on experience rather than preconception. The best feelings have resulted with students who have come to truly respect one another as individuals--their feelings, their contributions; when they have been able to be open about their misunderstandings, their skepticism, their mutual fears and hostilities. One Negro Interracial student was so outraged at the presence of a Confederate flag in his hall that he withdrew completely from participation. It was only much later that he was able to divulge to his preceptoral group the depth of his feelings (negative) about them.

Most people would agree that there is a heightened consciousness of race and class on campus. Some people regard this as 'bad'--others think of it as 'good.' The Negro students have ties to other Negro college students at both predominatly white and predominately Negro colleges and universities. They are a part of the movement concerned with 'black consciousness' and as such, are seeking to fit their being black students on a white campus with being black people in a white world. They recognize poignantly that Antioch is not the 'real world' and question whether it equips them for dealing with the white world on a reality basis. They raise questions about their feeling of being seduced into a relationship of trust which while perhaps valid at Antioch, would put them at a disadvantage in a world where different weapons are being forged and used.

It is not surprising that this feeling and the expression of it is sometimes difficult for the community at large to understand. And yet that there is mutual understanding and the development of positive relationships and freedom of movement is attested to by the fact that the Interracial students stay, that they return. They compare their experience at Antioch with the experience of other students at predominantly white schools to Antioch's advantage. They feel responsible for participating in the community and not limiting their social relationships with one another.

Probably the most positive impact on the community is that people from different backgrounds become real--to be dealt with on an equal basis--not as inferiors, not as ghetto children to be tutored, not as poor Negroes to be helped, not as the household help to do honest, respectable (and menial) work, but as fellow students--peers.

It is not possible to determine precisely the nature and extent of the effect on other parts of the college. It is to be hoped that the close attention given to the learning experiences of the Interracial students will illuminate the experiences of all students as they are affected by the current stresses of this society. One senses a kind of anxiety that the academic program might be diluted for the benefit of Program students. In fact, the expectation is that they meet the requirements set by the faculty in the courses. Faculty are often aware of their indentity and sensitive to their strengths and their limitations. There is, however, because of the range of difference, both in the students and the faculty, no identifiable patterns in this particular student-faculty encounter.

The impact has been softened in some ways by the existence of a special staff. While the students are expected to use the regular resources of the college, the presence of a kind of buffer group supports the use of the extramural faculty and the counselling facilities. The Admissions Office works with the staff in the admissions procedures. It is expected that the financial aid procedures, now handled completely by one of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education staff, will eventually be transferred to the office of financial aid.

The Interracial students this year constituted about 2% of the total student body. It is possible for the students and faculty to be unaware or only peripherally aware of their presence here. It is the writers impression that the injection of this tiny proportion of students of a radically different backgroun has produced an awareness, a ferment that is greater than would be expected from the numbers.

The present plan is to continue the admission of some significantly different students, increasing the proportion of members of minority groups other than Negro. Undoubtedly the nature of the impact will change as the numbers increase. When the College has been able to accommodate itself to their recruitment and retention over a long period of time--so that they graduate and make contributions of some consequence to society--then the College can consider itself to be successful in this venture. By that time the meeting of their educational needs will be an integral part of college services and there will be no special office to administer the Antioch Program for Interracial Education."[1]

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[1] Graham, Jewel, "The Antioch Program for Interracial Education--The First Three Years," July 1, 1967, pp. 25-28.

For two additional years the College has continued to recruit students to the Interracial Program, and they have continued to be predominantly black. The enrollment of black students has increased, but the enrollment of white ones has also, so that the percentages are still roughly the same. Five to 6 per cent of students are black, and half of those are APIE. The non-black APIE students are in such small numbers that they make no discernible impact.

The dichotomy between black students in the Interracial Program and those not in has all but disappeared. The concept of unity has captured the allegiance of black students almost without exception, and such a concept does not admit of class distinctions. Moreover, there is considerable overlap with the increasing numbers of black students admitted through the regular admissions process. The black students have embraced without reservations the idea that their backgrounds and experiences have as much (some say more) validity as that of the non-black students, and the yearning to be indistinguishable has not only vanished; it has reversed completely. The idea is to be very black. Reports on the effects of this heightened visibility and aggressiveness of the black students have varied according to each person's own experiences - varied so greatly that it seemed necessary to try to get some more general sampling of the experiences and attitudes of community members.

Accordingly, the questionnaire in the Appendix on page ix was sent out to 1200 community members. It sought answers to two questions: (1) During the time that the Interracial Education Program has been in effect, has the general level of learning about people of other races and classes improved? and (2) To what extent does "Separatism at Antioch" exist?

Eight questions were asked. Three questions inquired about pre-Antioch extra-race and class experiences; two about present relationships, and three about feelings and attitudes. There is no pretense that any changes were directly caused by the Interracial Education Program. Very likely one of the greavest weaknesses of the Program is its failure to make explicit the learning endemic in the situation. Time limitations prevented the kind of analyses that might sort out some of the effects of a person's pre-Antioch experiences and his present ones.

Questionnaires were distributed to the entire community - student, faculty, staff - on campus in May of 1969. This was the division of students present on campus upon the initiation of the Afro-American Studies Institute and presumably exposed to a high degree of racial tension.

Identifying information about community role, age, sex, and number of years was asked for, but not race. The question was not whether blacks were learning about whites or whites about blacks, but whether they were learning about one another..

Out of the 1200 questionnaires distributed, 350 were returned. There were undoubtedly some selective factors in the respondents. It is fruitless to speculate about what those might be. One must assume that even so the sample is large enough to provide some clues with greater validity than general impressions.

The questions, which are tabulated in Tables through on pages in the Appendix, are as follows: "4. How many people with race or class identity other than your own do you know casually/well at Antioch? (Answer: none, a few, many.) 5. Since you came to Antioch, have your experiences with and relationships with people of race or class identity other than your own been generally good/poor/indifferent/varied? 6. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your knowledge and understanding of problems faced by people of other race and class identities have improved/worsened/remained the same? 7. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your personal attitudes toward people of other race and class identities have improved/worsened/remained the same? Add any comments."

Of the 342-44 respondents to question 4, 198 said they knew, at Antioch, a few people of other race and class identity well; 26 said they knew many well, and 100 said they knew none well. Only 8 said they knew none casually - 209 knew a few casually and 117 knew many casually. If one can extrapolate from this sample, then, almost no one escapes come contact with people of different backgrounds.

Of the 342 respondents, 140, or 40 per cent, say their relationships are good. Adding the 142 who say their relationships are varied, one finds over 80 per cent report "good" or "varied" relationships, and less than 20 per cent report poor or indifferent ones. The ratio holds for the experience of students alone; but only one person in the non-student group reports "indifferent" relationships and none report "poor" ones. Very likely this reflects a different system of evaluating relationships and quite possibly a longer history of experience with people of different backgrounds.

Practically everyone in the Antioch community has some contact with people of other backgrounds. People feel that their relationships are by and large good or varied. So it comes as no surprise that most people (80 per cent) think that their knowledge and understanding of problems faced by people of other race and class identities have improved; 4 per cent say that they have remained the same, conceivably because of length or breadth of experience already achieved.

Fewer people (45 per cent) believe that their personal attitudes toward people of other race and class identities have improved. A third feel that they have remained the same, and 14 per cent think they have worsened. So there are about 10 per cent of the respondents who report that their knowledge and understanding have improved, but their personal attitudes have worsened. Since the questionnaire is not explicit about particular race/class, identification relationships may be worse or better with respect of blacks to whites.

The answers to question 8, an open-ended invitation to contribute comments, provide some clues for understanding this. One hundred sixty-one persons responded to the invitation to add comments. Of the comments about half (78) were "neutral" in that they were neither positively nor negatively stated. Many of these criticized the questionnaire, questioning the validity of any results. Some were explanations of the responses. In the other half expressing opinions, there were four negative comments to every positive one. A few were negative to the idea of introducing this kind of diversity. Forty per cent of the negative comments mentioned the AASI.

There was a very wide range of commentary, much of it sensitive to the complexities of the racial situation in this country today. Generally there was not much hostility directed at the concept of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. There was a lot directed at AASI, most of it because it seem to negate what they saw the beneficial aspect of APIE. Many persons mentioned heightened racial consciousness and tension and their discomfort with it. Many said that they thought that knowledge and understanding had improved but their level of emotional reaction had become worse. Most decried the diminution of interaction across color lines since the advent of AASI, but said that even so they had learned a lot. Some pointed out that their responses were not necessarily directed at black-white relationships but at some other racial groups. Others said they had learned more on co-op jobs, out in the Yellow Springs community, or in their activities in the cities. There were a few passionate expressions of hostility to black students; and there was at least one vivid assertion that the College represented the White Establishment and what AASI was about was Power, not harmonious relationships.

One comes to the inescapable conclusion that over the past five years there has been a process of interracial education. It is positive and negative, above all realistic. It is very nearly impossible to ascribe this education to any one process or any one source, but something is happening that is different. Since their arrival, the poor and/or black students have never been able to escape exposure to white middle-class people and culture; and certainly the increased numbers and activity of poor and/or black students has made ignoring them virtually impossible. The situation itself creates the imperative for learning. The learning is immediate, relevant, and practical.

Almost no one feels he is not learning anything, even though that learning might make him feel acutely uncomfortable. There may very well be need for more structuring in the learning situation. There have been and are efforts being made by the entire community to learn more about the racial situation in this country. A white student-initiated course called Revolution in Black and White in the summer of 1966 was the first effort. Just prior to the establishment of AASI there was a black student-initiated course called Black Alienation and White Response. There have been relevant departmental offerings in Intergroup Relations, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Black Economic Development, Black Ghetto and The Power Structure, Urban Problems, Environment and Change, Negro History, Black Literature, Splendors and Miseries of the American Empire. The curriculum is, in short, being "blackened" or at leasted "grayed" quite apart from the Afro-American Studies Institute.

There are other forces at work that make the kind of efforts that the APIE represents particularly important for Antioch today. They are reflected in data presented in a report by the Director of the Testing Office. She describes changes in the background of Antioch students from 1961 to 1968 as follows:

> "There have been important changes in the backgrounds of students from 1961 to 1968. In 1968 more students come from the suburbs and fewer from small towns. More students come from the Pacific coast and fewer from the Middle Atlantic and Midwestern states. Students come from larger families. The families are somewhat more liberal politically. The most important change, however, is the high socio-economic status of students in 1968 as compared with 1961. Fathers and mothers are increasingly likely to have attended college. Almost half the fathers have graduate training. The fathers come incresingly from professional backgrounds, the increase in the number of fathers engaged in research and college teaching being particularly marked; they come less frequently from business and blue-collar jobs. The mothers also tend to come more from professional and less from business backgrounds. Family income has risen almost a thousand dollars a year over this period; the increase cannot all be attributed to general national increases in salary level."[1]

She goes on to say:

> "Contrasted with 1961, 1968 entrants were less likely to plan majors in the physical sciences and more like to plan majors in the social sciences. Interest in studying abrod may have increased slightly over the seven years. Good grades were markedly less important to the 1968 entrants, graduate training is more important. In 1968 fewer students plan on finishing with a bachelor's degree and more students plan on master's and doctor's degrees."

And finally she raises the questions:

> "First, have students become more homogeneous over this period of time both in respect to their socio-economic background and to their social and political outlooks? Second, are the non-academic and personal aspects of the Antioch experience becoming far more important to the prospective student than the academic and intellectual aspects of his education?"

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[1] Churchill, Ruth, Testing Office Report #4, Feb., 1969.

If it is true that Antioch is becoming more homogeneous in its student body, and if we value diversity as an educational tool, then it becomes extraordinarily important to survival as a distinctive institution to enroll students like those who have been enrolled through APIE. And if students are increasingly planning majors in the social sciences, and if the non-academic and personal aspects of the program are important, then the type of effort represented by the Antioch Program for Interracial Education is a very important educational tool.

Someone has remarked that Antioch provides an intensity and variety of experience that makes the "real world" tame by comparison. The living presence of people representing a strain in our common life so often ignored is invaluable in the process of relating education to life. Antioch's Administrative Council (body responsible for policy-making) has voted to aim at doubling the proportion of black students in the entering freshman class by 1971, thus providing official recognition of the importance of their presence here.

We have not touched on one crucial impace of the students on the College. The College is located in the village of Yellow Springs, small, pastoral, and rural, and inhabited by a variety of people, a substantial proportion of whom are urban (or surburban) and cosmopolitan in tastes and life style. At least a quarter of the population (perhaps more) is black, middle class, and most of the whites would classify themselves as liberals. It is as genuine an interracial community as can be found anywhere. The influx of significant numbers of very black young people, lower class and from the urban ghetto, has complicated the College's relationships with the villagers somewhat, especially when those black young people begin to espouse separatism as a viable alternative. Analyses analogous to those about the mutual impact of the College and the students might be made about the village, only probably not to such intensity. Townspeople who have the opportunity to know individual students are less prone to fearful generalizations and more apt to think of the students as persons. They tend to see what they are trying to do in their search for identity and relevance. Their understandings then are stretched far beyond the bounds afforded by the somewhat atypical circumstances of the village.

IV. Summary and Conclusions

There is no doubt that the College has made an impact on the students. Neither is there doubt that the students have made an impact on the College. Those who term it a mixed blessing for both may say, and with some truth, that "impact" in itself means nothing, that it can be for worse as well as for better. In this instance, and in the United States of America in the year of our Lord nineteen-hundred and sixty-nine, one must conclude that the problems of our local engagement with the results of racial injustice and poverty are a part of the concerns that an educational institution has to be able to deal with if it is to speak to the vicissitudes of contemporary life. Actually Antioch has been spared some of the more abrasive confrontations. It might be said with a great deal of truth that the Program has been, in the balance, more beneficial to the College in general than to the students in the Program. When the students continue to come, however, and to stay, it is tantamount to an admission that they too are getting something out of it.

What does it all mean?

How can it possibly make any difference that a tiny college in a little village in southwestern Ohio has enrolled a hundred students out of the vast numbers in America's underclasses? Any why spend so many hours and so many pieces of paper to talk about it?

The 1967 report made it quite clear that Antioch had no answers, was in fact trying to discover what the questions were. They are becoming clearer, and they have implications of vast dimensions. If this report has seem unnecessarily long and tortuous, if it has reiterated what to most of the readers is common knowledge by now, it is because it seems important to draw together at least a few of the forces that complicate the formation of the questions.

The tables in the Appendix describing the characteristics of the students in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, and the tables that were compiled to summarize the academic status and progress of the students, provide documentation for the assertion that there is tremendous variety, in every respect, to be found among the students in the APIE. That the extent of that variety seems to be lost on a great many people in the community is attested to by the number and quality of generalizations one hears about them. Many people have equated APIE with the black student population, some with the entire black campus population (i.e., "non-students as well as students), some lately with the Afro-American Studies Institute. There are then some stereotypical ideas about what an APIE student is and there is a tendency to react to him in a certain way, to have standard expectations about his attitudes and behaviors.

Generalizations must be very tentative. Some of the most militant blacks are upper middle class like their white counterparts, working through the same life crises; and many of the APIE students are lower middle class, and their aspirations mirror those of the other lower middle class people. There are some genuine lower class people with lower class values. "Lower class values," whatever they are, have been elevated to a desirable pattern of behavior at the same time that "middle class values," however they are seen, are denigrated and rejected by some black students, and by some white students too.

The analysis of retention and withdrawal of students in APIE casts no light on why some people go, some stay, some stay and make their dreams reality. The analysis has been superficial, admittedly, but there do not as yet emerge any clear predictors of "success." So we turn again to observation and specualation.

The challenge of the College to the APIE students and the challenge of the College by the students seem to bear most heavily on the male students. A disproportionate number of the participants in APIE are male. Also a disporportionate number of the withdrawals have been male. Since the males seem even by standard measures to be brighter in a conventional sense, one must turn to some other explanation for the greater difficulties they seem to have.

The most common, and probably most valid, explanation is the severer nature of the identity crises for poor males and for black males. To discover who one is, what one's role in society will be, and how one makes sense of it all is an agonizing procedure for black males, doubly so when they happen to be poor. Society demands of them male assertiveness and black passivity at the same time, and the ensuing inner conflict generates insecurity, frustration, and rage. To find a place for oneself in a society that has already assigned one to the bottom is a discouraging task, and only the strong master it.

This has been true for black males at Antioch. Antioch is a part of society. And that may very well be what AASI is about. Diane Fraser, a 1968 graduate of Antioch, in her senior thesis reports, from a study she made, an increase in self-esteem by black students as they remain at Antioch. That increased self-esteem added to the national imperatives for black self-determination, has made it possible for black students to become assertive about what they want to learn. Black males have filled significant leadership roles. The Afro-American movement in general and the black movement at Antioch are processes of resolution of the crises of black male identity. It is at the same time an individual and a group phenomenon.

The materials that are useful in the resolution of identity crises are in a hidden curriculum. That curriculum includes the provision of some male role models that depart from the classic image of the white middle-class intellectual. It includes the acceptance of black history and culture as a respectable part of the curriculum. It includes the opportunity to create student-initiated courses of unique concern to

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These are only a few of the questions, and it is hopeful that they are being asked. The problems are many. The one that disturbs most thoughtful faculty members is whether the College can, or even more crucial, whether it should attempt to accommodate to so much educational diversity. Should the College be concerned in today's social problems, or should it continue to do what it used to think, at least, that it knew how to do best? Can students who lack the 18 years of unique preparation possessed by the upper middle classes benefit from a liberal arts education in one of the prestige private institutions? Do the student-initiated courses in the Afro-American Studies Institute, or do the kinds of courses being demanded by black campus activists everywhere, have anything to do with the liberal arts, and will they prepare students to cope with the kind of society that now exists, or even that they hope will come to be? Even further than that, should the white college be seducing black students, if they are, into being middle-class establishment functionaries? And should they be robbing Negro colleges of the students, the faculty, and the national resources that might bring to fruition the kinds of educational contributions black colleges could make, to benefit a few black students among thousands of white ones? Can white educational establishments provide quality relevant education for black students? Can trust be established at a level where learning is possible?

If one believes, as the writer does, that it is important to preserve (or to create) an open system where people move across class and ethnic lines, then one believes one has to try. Negro colleges have been more captive to the status quo than white ones, and colleges like Antioch could provide some breakthrough points.

There are a lot of questions about the selection process. Selectors obviously respond to verbal acuity. Even though this particular ability is essential at Antioch, and indeed in many academic and professional circles, is it snyonymous with intelligence and educability? Will it produce the kind of leadership and expertise so desperately needed in the inner cities? Among the students in the APIE one can identify three general types. One is the very bright who finds it difficult to perform within the parameters of education offered by Antioch. Another one is the not-so-bright, average or above but not brilliant, who is stable and steady, hard-working, and persistent. There are a very few who do not seem to be bright enough, whose self-discipline is poor, whose alternatives are limited, and whose belief in miracles is the only thing that sustains them. There are almost no students who are not very fluent and expressive with people with whom they feel comforable.

The students in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education are adolescents or young adults, as are all college students. They are affected by their stage of growth as well as by their socio-economic background and their involvement in societal change. In the midst of such turbulence one must continue to raise questions about the validity of Antioch's Program. Are the solutions demanded by society so pressing, so intense, and so widespread that there is no place for the individualized and open-ended nature of Antioch's inquiry?

The experiences of the past five years lead us to make several recommendations as the Program continues. First we reiterate the recommendation that the transfer of functions performed by the Special Office continue to be incorporated into suitable channels in the College. There should, however, be sufficient additional staff time added to accommodate increased demands. In addition there should be at least one person whose job it is to know all of the Interracial Education students in more than a casual way and to continue to make available counselling to assist the students in using the resources of the College. The recognition of the existence of and the validity of experience in race and class groups should be made explicit in curriculumand in the presence of faculty of a variety of backgrounds. Lois Spark's recommendation that more curriculum of a practical and instrumental nature be instituted will be implemented in the next few years in part with the addition of the possibility of an undergraduate major in social work. The present director, a MSW female black, is resigning in favor of a male director, and she will institute at Antioch an undergraduate major in social work.

It would be helpful if we could separate the effects of race and class. The Antioch Program for Interracial Education is really a class-centered program, not a race one. It clouds the issues to have the two confused. If there were more students from disadvantaged backgrounds who were non-black, the difference might become clearer. It has been the intent of the Program to include poor whites, Indians, and people of Spanish speaking ancestry, but the black imperatives have overshadowed the rest. We feel it important now that enough students with common backgrounds come to provide supportive relationships for one another. It may be beyond our financial and maybe emotional capabilities to adapt to too much multi-culturalism. However, we will soon make some tentative gestures to reach out in some more aggressive way to Indians at least. Half a dozen will matriculate in fall, 1969.

There may be some limitations on the possibility and/or the benefits from increased communication. From the second through the fourth years the Interracial Program Office had a weekly Open House for the community. This was aimed at increasing communication and understanding, answering questions, entertaining suggestions for change or for dealing with problems. This year it was discontinued for lack of interest and participation. There was some interest expressed in the idea of improved communication. It simply didn't work in that form. It might however in another. It is extremely important for the general morale, and for the exploitation of the educational potential of the situation. It is also the responsibility of all segments and individuals in the community.

Colleges and universities have undertaken to broaden opportunities for people from disadvantaged groups with the expectation of maximum changes in the students and minimum change in themselves, providing, as it were, a good thing for the students. They are finding that the widening of the system makes for certain rifts in it. Students, as they begin to assess what they perceive to be the reality of the institutions against the reality of their history and their lives, begin to raise fundamental questions. It is the challenge of minority groups that raises the profoundest challenge. That challenge is so insistent that in an effort to protect the university from the threat it poses to the traditional concept of educational institutions, the public, and through it the politicans, may destroy the university as a place of autonomy and free inquiry. Race is so emotion laden that in like fashion the public and the politicans may destroy the very notion of American freedom and democracy rather then to share it with the dispossessed.

Afro-American Studies programs are here to stay. Afro-American Studies have been an integral part of many Negro colleges. They will become an accepted part of white ones. But what constitutes a contemporary relevant program in Afro-American Studies is not yet clear. It is clear that one part needs to help blacks (and whites) to search for the meaning of being human through the study of the black role in world and national history, the development of cultural traditions, the infusion of cultural forms into other cultures. Another part of the program needs to analyze the societal determinants of present socio-economic conditions, and to develop the knowledge and skills to manipulate them to improve conditions. Some need to look at particular psychic stresses and to develop ways of strengthening coping capacity. All need to provide the acquisition of skills and techniques to enable people to play a role that has some economic value within and without the black community. In like fashion, educational experiences that help relate a person to his class and race identification, and what that might mean in what he becomes, need increasingly to be made available to other minority groups as they progress through the educational system. But the admission of cultural diversity should not and will not substitute for social and economic reform.

According to a recent poll conducted by Newsweek Magazine, most blacks (or Negroes) still opt for an open society. However, the median age for black Americans is 21, six years younger than the national average. The younger blacks are a tough new breed who have come of age during a decade of revolt and who stand across a generation gap from other Americans. They are free to express their anger, are committed to black pride, black unity, black power, and self-determination. They are willing to risk what is for what they think ought to be, by any means necessary.

In their search for ways to implement Afro-American Studies programs, white colleges and universities do not often take into account the divergence of style between the younger and older blacks. They behave as if the provision of black faculty is sufficient, and they expect that faculty to behave as a kind of "Supernegro" with respect to the black students.

There are messages being conveyed between black and white. It is that message, in part conveyed by the nature of communication (a lot of it non-verbal), that makes so many people feel so uncomfortable. To the adolescent compulsion to "unmask the gods" in the process of growing up one must add the black compulsion to "unmask the gods" in becoming psychically free. The overt expressions of hostility that this has triggered have been complicated by the invasion of the campus by black non-students who are also openly hostile, but who do not operate under the restraints that students do. They have no stake in the community, nothing to lose. They have only their anger. But many people can make no distinction between students and non-students, and students must bear the brunt of "white reaction" to "black alienation."

What have we learned? We have learned that there are no easy answers to questions about the nature and form of educational contributions to the solutions of problems posed by poverty and racial injustice. We have learned that it is no simple task we undertake. There is no magic. There is only the entering into a process, and a risky process at that. There is little hope of maintaining the status quo if any progress is to be made. And that is logical. For if the only obstacle to doing all these years what we are now doing was our willingness, then we were indeed culpable. We have learned that a program like this needs institutional commitment. It needs money (for tuition, room, board, books, jobs, time extensions). It needs curriculum flexibility (opportunity to start with courses of interest and relevance, and not be penalized for failure). It needs people who are sympathetic and sensitive to the enormity of what the students are trying to do. It needs people who have the ability to transcend race and class ethnocentrism, to see things as they are not, and to work for change. It needs people who are willing to ask different questions, to work without answers, to postpone immediate gratification for the possibility of future reward.

The questions that we are learning to ask are related to a larger set of questions that transcend our institution. What is "success" in college? And what are the variables that make that success possible? Is it demonstrated ability to perform within the system? Is it family stability and expectation? It is motivation? What is motivation? Is it the ability to resolve in a satisfactory manner the life crises described by Erik Erikson, particularly identity? How are these tasks affected by the racist context of the attempt at solutions. How does the confluence of change in the college exemplified in the black revolution, the educational revolution, the technological revolution, affect efforts like these? What will be the function of education in our changing society and how will the colleges and universities fit in? What will be the place of education in those aspects of our inquiries about ourselves that we have called the humanities?

Can any real changes take place without basic value changes in society? Can we affect those value changes so that they are liberating rather than repressive? Is there enough time?

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Very often the black (or Negro) faculty stand closer culturally to their white colleagues than to their black children, and have just as much difficulty understanding what they are saying. The difficulty is compounded because they are emotionally involved with the black struggle but have fairly traditional ideas about the purposes and goals of education. If they are perceptive about the "hidden curriculum" of the black students, they soon learn that they render themselves completely useless if they become the tool either of the white administration or the black students. The students set out to confront authority and they know the black faculty have none. If they become tools of the students they have nothing to offer them. Black faculty who intervene are toms. Black teachers are important, but they must not be expected to do what they cannot do.

Young blacks and, increasingly young Spanish speaking people and, now beginning, young Indians and members of other groups in the underclasses are on the move. They will become an increasingly large and an increasingly vociferous segment of the population. The choice is to silence them or to include them. The path to inclusion in the technocratic society lies through higher education, for the present at least. Present conditions would seem to exacerbate the problem - the terrified resistance of whites, the open hostility of blacks, the heightened tension. Open warfare and a police state are possibilities. On the other hand, we may have gone farther than we think along the path to accommodation. We have publicly acknowledged the racist nature of the society. The problems are out in the open. Communication is abrasive, but it is honest. Neither the white majorities nor the non-white minorities are negotiating out of sentiments they do not feel. The historical myths are being swept away so that we can see the reality of our origins. We can sense the fury of the blacks, the fury of the Indians, the primeval terror of the whites, the resentment of the poor. Will all this lead to a demise of ethnocentrism, or its intensification? No one knows.

The important thing about educational experiments like the Antioch Program for Interracial Education is that they signal the willingness to be engaged in inquiry that has profound significance for the future of man on earth. They cannot be thought of in narrow terms of success, or failure, or how many students graduate, or what grades they get. They need to be judged by other standards: Does the world widen for more people, so that our relationships, personal and organizational, become more humane in a mass society? And it is too early to judge that.

Epilogue

Jesse James Speaks - 1966[1]

I

It takes more to get out of Harlem
Than to get out of the South Side of Chicago.
Harlem it takes more.
Harlem is much bigger.
There are many more people,
Many more,
Many more things you just don't know about
     that are happening.
You read about Harlem
     more than you read about the South Side of Chicago,
And you get this brain washed idea
That Harlem is just one big mess.
It moves,
And it rolls,
And everything that one person does is representing
     the whole darn place.
But when you work right there
Among these people
You find out that,
Man...
You got so many different people.

And these people are aware of their situation,
And they know why they are like that,
But some of them don't attempt to change because,
They say
You know
"Well, where can I go?"
Or they're too old to go.
And some of them want to change
And they're trying to break out --
But they're trying to go down
in Manhattan.

II

I've seen something in Harlem though.
In Harlem there are many organizations.
Everybody wants to make Harlem over.
Everyone feels guilty about Harlem existing
     the way it is,

---

[1] Jesse James was one of the 1965 entering students. He is now serving with the Armed Forces in Vietnam.

So they bring in all their little organizations,
And the set 'em up.
They all have the same purpose,
But they all have different names.
They all want their own glory.
To go about getting the glory the must
Recruit
People that live in Harlem,
The citizens of Harlem.
So these people they give them
All their wills --
The will to succeed
And they give them all their courage
And all their faith.

Then all of a sudden one day
They go down to this place
And it isn't there anymore.
And it's just not the place that's left.
It's taken their faith and their will with it.

If someone's going to instill a feeling of
"you can change" in you
I think they should go all the way with it.
I mean, you don't stop.
I mean, just don't cut out all of a sudden,
Because these people still don't know all the answers.
They'll never know all the answers.

III

The agency where I worked is gonna be
discontinued in June.
When the place leaves,
These people are gonna be in a hole.
They're gonna have all these things,
And they're not going to know what to do with 'em.
They're redoing these homes,
And now,
Instead of relocating,
They're just pushing the people across the street.
So they're redoing these homes
And then
They're putting the people over there
And then
Putting them back.
You know,
Before these homes are completed
This office will be gone.
It's the office of social planning,
It will be gone,
And I'm really wondering that if by the time the houses...

(The office where I worked is
On the opposite side of the street
(It's the last house on the block)
I'm wondering by the time they finish that house
What will the first three look like?
I mean - will they -
If they accomplish something, I'll really feel good about it,
I mean,
If the people learn to take care of these things
Learn to keep them in this -
Keep them up to middle class standards.
'Cause no matter how you look at it
Everything's gotta be middle class eventually.
To stay,
To be accepted,
To be part of,
To be equal.

IV

Middle class.
It's a sweet word,
It's something that lower class people don't have.
The middle class.
The lower classes are the masses.
The lower class people comprise the world.
Without them there wouldn't be a middle class,
And the middle class has the upper class
     above them--
Middle class.
What I see of middle class standards is
Is--
Grass in the front yard,
A nice house,
Two kids,
and a dog.

Amazing.
People in Harlem have dogs.
But they live on the fifth floor,
And the fourth floor,
And everytime you walk in their door
It smells like you just walked into
The grand central station john
That hasn't been cleaned in six months or something.

The garbage is overrunning because
The people don't collect it because
The lower class people just aren't
You know, they can wait.

These are the people who go down and stand
     in the government surplus lines for hours
waiting for some government surplus food, and

These are the people that complain when their
checks don't come or who just have to
wait when their checks don't come.

These are the lower class people.

These are the people that window shop.
These are the people who window shop and
just go home.

These are the people that get so fat off the poor
food but they're really starving.

These are the people that have to say well let's
make do with what we've got cause we can't get anything else.

These are the people that buy the couch that'll
fall apart the first time the kid jumps on it.

These are the people that buy the TV's that say five
dollars today and you don't have to pay anything
for a month and you end up paying for the rest
of your life.

These are the people who make the fifty dollars
a week pay checks with seventy people
in the house -- exaggerated, but it's quite
a few.

These are the people who worry about the
disposess letters.

These are the people that read the paper, who look
at the fashion magazines, the people
that support everybody else.

These are the lower class...I don't know
what the middle class people are like.
But I want to be middle class.
I'm dissatisfied with being a lower class citizen.
I don't know what the life of a middle class
citizen is like -
Physically it's better.
I don't know what it does to the mind.
I've seen some pretty wracked up middle
class people
Who I wouldn't like...

If I could live in a middle class setting
with a lower class mind,
I'd be happy.

APPENDIX

Table 1

Migratory Status of 92 Students Enrolled in Interracial Program
July 1, 1969 by age and sex.

Origin	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
Rural Area or South	19	14	5	14	5
Unknown	7	5	2	6	1
City	45	30	15	42	3
1969 Entrants (Not counted)	21	16	5	20	1
	92	65	27	82	10

Table 2

Age on Entry of 92 Students Enrolled in Interracial Program
July 1, 1969 by sex.

Age	Total	Male	Female
23	1	1	0
22	5	5	0
21	0	0	0
20	12	11	1
19	15	9	6
18	47	32	15
17	11	6	5
Unknown	1	1	0
	92	65	27

Table 3

Summary of Students Enrolled in
Antioch Program for Interracial Education
July 1, 1969 by sex and race

Year	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
1965	11	9	2	9	2
1966	27	18	9	27	0
1967	15	11	4	10	5
1968	18	11	7	16	2
1969	21	16	5	20	1
Total	92	65	27	82	10

Non-black defined as white, Indian, and Spanish speaking.

Table 4

Economic Opportunity Grant Distribution of 92 Students in
Antioch Program for Interracial Education
July 1, 1969 by race and sex

Amount of Grant	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
0[1]	6	6	0	5	1
Up to $500	9	8	1	9	0
501-799	6	4	2	6	0
$800	50	31	19	42	8
Not Yet Calculated	21	16	5	20	1
Total	92	65	27	82	10

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[1] Includes short period before initiation of Economic Opportunity Grants program.

Table 5

Occupation of Parents of 92 Students Enrolled in Antioch Program for Interracial Education July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

	Fathers					Mothers				
Occupation	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
Clerical	6	2	4	6	0	8	3	5	8	0
Domestic	0	0	0	0	0	7	6	1	7	0
Housewife	0	0	0	0	0	35	27	8	30	5
Laborer	39	34	5	34	5	11	7	4	8	3
Operative	10	6	4	8	2	0	0	0	0	0
Service	4	3	1	3	1	17	12	5	16	1
Armed Services	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Not Working" *	4	1	3	3	1	7	5	2	6	1
Deceased	14	10	4	14	0	3	1	2	3	0
Unknown	14	8	6	13	1	4	4	0	4	0
Total	92	65	27	82	10	92	65	27	82	10

*Unemployed, disabled, retired, not working

Service includes new careers in health, education and welfare

Table 6

Education of Parents of 92 Students Enrolled in Antioch Program for Interracial Education July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

(Years of School Completed)	Father[1]					Mother[1]				
	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
Elementary (1-6)	3	2	1	3	0	8	6	2	6	2
El+, but not H.S. (7 & 8)	6	2	4	4	2	8	6	2	5	3
Some H.S., not grad (9-12)	23	16	7	21	2	23	12	11	19	4
H.S. Grad (12)	22	15	7	20	2	23	17	6	23	0
Beyond High School	7	5	2	6	1	11	8	3	11	0
Unknown[2]	31	25	6	28	3	19	16	3	18	1
Total	92	65	27	82	10	92	65	27	82	10

[1] Includes deceased or absent where known
[2] Includes incomplete data on incoming class, 1969

Table 7

Marital Status of Parents of 92 Students Enrolled in Antioch Program for Interracial Education July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

Marital Status	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
Together	32	26	6	27	5
Widowed	12	9	3	12	0
Separated	14	8	6	12	2
Divorced	14	8	6	12	2
Deceased	3	2	1	3	0
Unknown	17[1]	12	5	16	1
Total	92	65	27	82	10

[1] Includes incomplete data on 1969 entering class

Table 8

Number of Siblings of 92 Students Enrolled in Antioch Program for Interracial Education July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

Number of Siblings	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
0	6	4	2	6	0
1	9	7	2	8	1
2	13	10	3	11	2
3	10	7	3	9	1
4	15	10	5	13	2
5	13	9	4	11	2
6	9	5	4	8	1
7	3	2	1	3	0
8	3	2	1	3	0
9	2	2	0	2	0
10	2	1	1	2	0
11	3	2	1	3	0
Unknown	4	4	0	3	1
Total	92	65	27	82	10

Table 9

High School Class Ranking, by Quintile, of Students Enrolled at Antioch Through Antioch Program for Interracial Education July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

Quintile	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
1	21	13	8	18	3
2	12	10	2	10	2
3	14	10	4	13	1
4	9	5	4	9	0
5	11	9	2	9	2
Unknown	25[1]	18	7	23	2
Total	92	65	27	82	10

Table 10

Distribution of College Entrance Examination Board Test Scores of Students Enrolled at Antioch College Through Antioch Program for Interracial Education July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

Range	Verbal					Math				
	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
700-799	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
600-699	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
500-599	13	7	6	11	2	12	11	1	12	0
400-499	22	18	4	22	0	23	17	6	23	0
300-399	19	15	4	18	1	22	15	7	18	4
200-200	3	1	2	3	0	3	2	1	3	0
100-199	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	31[1]	20	11	25	6	31	20	11	25	6
Total	92	65	27	82	10	92	65	27	82	10
Median	435					402				

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[1] Unknown includes fall entrants for whom data is incomplete
For table 9, unknown also includes students who did not graduate from high school.

Table 11

Performance at entry on the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale of
Students Enrolled at Antioch College through the
Antioch Program for Interracial Education
July 1, 1969 by Race and Sex

Full Score	Total	Male	Female	Black	Non-Black
Under 100	8	4	4	7	1
101-109	20	13	7	17	3
110-110	23	16	7	21	2
120 plus	15	13	2	14	1
No data	26	19	7	23	3
Total	92	65	27	82	10
Verbal Score					
Under 100	3	1	2	2	1
100-109	13	7	6	10	3
110-119	28	19	9	27	1
120 plus	23	20	3	21	2
No data	25	18	7	21	4
Total	92	65	27	81	11
Math Score					
Under 100	22	13	9	21	1
100-109	16	10	6	13	3
110-119	21	17	4	19	2
120 plus	7	6	1	6	1
No data	26	19	7	22	4
Total	92	65	27	81	11

Table 12

Summary of APIE Student Withdrawals from Antioch 1965-1969
By Race and Sex, July 1, 1969

Year	Total		Male		Female		Black		Non-Black	
	Enrolled	W/D[1]	Enrolled	W/D	Enrolled	W/D	Enrolled	W/D	Enrolled	W/D
1965	11	6	9	6	2	0	9	5	2	1
1966	27	7	17	4	10	3	27	7	0	0
1967	15	0	12	0	3	0	10	0	5	0
1968	18	1	11	1	7	0	16	0	2	1
1969	21	-	16	-	5	-	20	-	1	-
Total	92	14	65	11	27	3	82	12	10	2

[1] Withdrawn

Questionnaire

Please return to Jewel Graham, Antioch Program for Interracial Education by May 19, 1969

Five years ago the Antioch Program for Interracial Education was initiated. Partly due to its efforts, the diversity of the student body with respect to race and class has been increased. We are interested in finding out what has happened since this diversification has accelerated. We would appreciate it if you would answer the following questions. The responses will be incorporated into an interim report on the Program.

Answer according to your own definition of the terms used and your own perceptions.

- -

Role: Student________ Teacher________ Administrator__________
Counselor_________ Clerical________ Maintenance________ Other_______
Age_________ Sex__________ Number of Years at Antioch________

1. How many people with race or class identity other than your own did you see when you were between the ages of 6 to 17____; 17 to 25____; 25 to 35_______; over 35_______?
(Answer - none a few many).

2. How many people with race or class identity other than your own did you know casually or formally when you were (teachers, service workers, etc) between the ages of 6 to 17_____; 17 to 25______; 25 to 35_______; over 35________?
(Answer - none a few many).

3. How many people with race or class identity other than your own did you know well (friends, relatives) when you were between the ages of 6 to 17_____; 17 to 25_____; 25 to 35_____; over 35_______?
(Answer - none a few many).

4. How many people with race or class identity other than your own do you know casually________; well_________; at Antioch?
(Answer - none a few many).

5. Since you came to Antioch, have your experiences with and relationships with people of race or class identity other than your own been generally good___________; poor________; indifferent________; varied__________?

6. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your knowledge and understanding of problems faced by people of other race and class identities have improved______; worsened________; remained the same________?

7. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your personal attitudes toward people of other race and class identities have improved________; worsened________; remained the same________?

8. Add any comments.

Table 13

Responses to Question 4 by Sex and Student Status

4. How many people with race or class identity other than your own do you know casually_______; well________; at Antioch?

	Total				Student				Non-Student			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Casually (Total)	342	185	127	30	255	135	98	22	87	50	29	8
none	8	4	1	3	7	3	1	3	1	1	0	0
a few	209	120	71	18	171	96	60	15	38	24	11	3
many	117	60	49	8	73	35	34	4	44	25	15	4
unknown	8	1	6	1	4	1	3	0	4	0	3	1
Well (Total)	344	188	125	31	254	135	97	22	90	53	28	9
none	100	55	36	9	91	51	32	8	9	4	4	1
a few	198	117	66	15	137	78	49	10	61	39	17	5
many	26	10	13	3	14	3	10	1	12	7	3	2
unknown	20	6	10	4	12	3	6	3	8	3	4	1

Table 13a

Student Responses to Question 4 by Sex and Number of Years at Antioch

4. How many people with race or class identity other than your own do you know casually_______; well________; at Antioch?

	Total				1-4 years				5 years & over			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Casually (Total)	255	135	98	22	164	92	63	9	91	43	35	13
none	7	3	1	3	6	2	1	3	1	1	0	0
a few	171	96	60	15	108	67	36	5	63	29	24	10
many	73	35	34	4	47	22	24	1	26	13	10	3
unknown	4	1	3	0	3	1	2	0	1	0	1	0
Well (Total)	254	135	97	22	162	92	61	9	92	43	36	13
none	91	51	32	8	60	36	19	5	31	15	13	3
a few	137	78	49	10	86	51	32	3	51	27	17	7
many	14	3	10	1	8	2	6	0	6	1	4	1
unknown	12	3	6	3	8	3	4	1	4	0	2	2

Table 13b

Non Student Responses to Question 4 by Sex and Teacher - Non-Teacher Status

4. How many people with race or class identity other than your own do you know casually______; well_______; at Antioch?

	Total				Teachers				Other			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Casually (Total)	87	50	29	8	37	31	3	3	50	19	26	5
none	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
a few	38	24	11	3	17	16	1	0	21	8	10	3
many	44	25	15	4	19	14	2	3	25	11	13	1
unknown	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	1
Well (Total)	90	53	28	9	36	30	3	3	54	23	25	6
none	9	4	4	1	5	4	1	0	4	0	3	1
a few	61	39	17	5	26	23	1	2	35	16	16	3
many	12	7	3	2	4	2	1	1	8	5	2	1
unknown	8	3	4	1	1	1	0	0	7	2	4	1

Table 14

Responses to Question 5 by Sex and Student Status

5. Since you came to Antioch, have your experiences with and relationships with people of race or class identity other than your own been generally good____; poor____; indifferent____; varied____?

	Total				Student				Non Student			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	342	185	127	29	254	136	96	21	88	49	31	8
Good	140	75	52	13	76	39	29	8	64	36	23	5
Poor	18	9	7	2	18	9	7	2	0	0	0	0
Indifferent	37	24	8	5	36	23	8	5	1	1	0	0
Varied	142	77	56	9	119	65	48	6	23	12	8	3
Unknown	5	0	4	1	5	0	4	1	0	0	0	0

Table 14a

Student Responses to Question 5 by Sex and Number of Years at Antioch

5. Since you came to Antioch, have your experiences with and relationships with people of race or class identity other than your own been generally good____; poor____; indifferent____; varied____?

	Total				1-4 years				5 years & over			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	254	136	96	21	162	92	61	9	92	44	35	13
Good	76	39	29	8	44	24	17	3	32	15	12	5
Poor	18	9	7	2	16	8	6	2	2	1	1	0
Indifferent	36	23	8	5	24	14	7	3	12	9	1	2
Varied	119	65	48	6	76	46	29	1	43	19	19	5
Unknown	5	0	4	1	2	0	2	0	3	0	2	1

Table 14b

Non Student Responses to Question 5 by Sex and Teacher - Non-Teacher Status

5. Since you came to Antioch, have your experiences with and relationships with people of race or class identity other than your own been generally good_____; poor_____; indifferent_____; varied_____?

	Total				Teachers				Other			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	88	49	31	8	34	29	4	1	54	20	27	7
Good	64	36	23	5	25	20	4	1	39	16	19	4
Poor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indifferent	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Varied	23	12	8	3	8	8	0	0	15	4	8	3
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 15

Responses to Question 6 by Sex and Student, Non-Student Status

6. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your knowledge and understanding of problems faced by people of other race and class identities have improved_____; worsened_____; remained the same____?

	Total				Student				Non-Student			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	338	188	128	22	249	138	98	13	89	50	30	9
Improved	261	147	102	12	193	108	79	6	68	39	23	6
Worsened	14	6	6	2	11	5	4	2	3	1	2	0
Same	55	32	18	5	38	22	13	3	17	10	5	2
Unknown	8	3	2	3	7	3	2	2	1	0	0	1

Table 15a

Student Responses to Question 6 by Sex and Number of Years at Antioch

6. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your knowledge and understanding of problems faced by people of other race and class identities have improved____; worsened____; remained the same____?

	Total				1-4 years				5 years & over			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	249	138	98	13	167	94	63	10	82	44	35	3
Improved	193	108	79	6	123	69	49	5	70	39	30	1
Worsened	11	5	4	2	10	4	4	2	1	1	0	0
Same	38	22	13	3	29	18	9	2	9	4	4	1
Unknown	7	3	2	2	5	3	1	1	2	0	1	1

Table 15b

Non-Student Responses to Question 6
by Sex and Number of Years at Antioch

6. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your knowledge and understanding of problems faced by people of other race and class identities have improved_____; worsened_____; remained the same____?

	Total				1-4 years				5 years & over			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	89	50	30	9	36	31	3	2	53	19	27	7
Improved	68	39	23	6	25	23	2	0	3	16	21	6
Worsened	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	0
Same	17	10	5	2	10	7	1	2	7	3	4	0
Unknown	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

Table 16

Responses to Question 7 by Sex and Student, Non-Student Status

7. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your personal attitudes toward people of other race and class identities have improved_____; worsened_____; remained the same_____?

	Total				Student				Non-Student			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	331	185	127	19	245	136	98	11	86	49	29	8
Improved	149	79	65	5	104	55	46	3	45	24	19	2
Worsened	48	24	22	2	43	21	20	2	5	3	2	0
Same	114	71	33	10	32	20	7	5	82	51	26	5
Unknown	20	11	7	2	16	9	6	1	4	2	1	1

Table 16a

Student Responses to Question 7 by Sex and Number of Years at Antioch

7. Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your personal attitudes toward people of other race and class identities have improved_____; worsened_____; remained the same_____?

	Total				1-4 years				5 years & over			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	245	136	98	11	163	92	63	8	82	44	35	3
Improved	104	55	46	3	64	38	24	2	40	17	22	1
Worsened	43	21	20	2	36	17	17	2	7	4	3	0
Same	82	51	26	5	54	31	19	4	28	20	7	1
Unknown	16	9	6	1	9	6	3	0	7	3	3	1

Table 16b

Non-Student Responses to Question 7
by Sex and Number of Years at Antioch

7. **Since you came to Antioch, do you believe that your personal attitudes toward people of other race and class identities have improved_____; worsened_____; remained the same_____?**

	Total				1-4 years				5 years & over			
	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk	T	M	F	Unk
Total	86	49	29	8	34	29	2	3	52	20	27	5
Improved	45	24	19	2	12	11	0	1	33	13	19	1
Worsened	5	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	4	2	2	0
Same	32	20	7	5	19	15	2	2	13	5	5	3
Unknown	4	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	1

Partial List of Places Where APIE Students Have Held Jobs 1965-1969
July 1, 1969

Adams-Morgan School, Washington, D.C.
Afro-West, San Jose, California
American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington,D.C.
American Producers Inc., New York
Antioch Afro American Studies Institute, Yellow Springs, O.
Antioch College (Art Department, Audio Visual Services, Bookstore, Community Government, Dark Room, Newspaper, Maintenance Department, Kettering Library)
Area Planning Action Committee, Boston, Massachusetts
Audio Visual Department, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
B. Altman and Company, New York
Beth Israel Hospital, New York
Betro Laboratory, Philadelphia
Central NY Presbyterian Camp Center, Cleveland & New York
Chicago Commons Farm Camp, Chicago
Chicago Lighthouse for the Blind, Chicago
Chicago Northwestern Railroad, Chicago
Chicago Wesley Memorial Hospital, Chicago, Illinois
Clear Lake Camp, Dowling, Michigan
Cleveland City Planning Commission, Cleveland, O.
Cleveland Heights School Camp, Novelty, O.
Counsellor for Handicapped, Gloucestershire, England
The Delta Ministry, Greeneville, Mississippi
Dow Chemical Company, Midland, Michigan
Dubnoff School, Los Angeles, California
E. I. du Pont and Nemours, Wilmington, Delaware
Encampment for Citizenship, Puerto Rico
Essex County Overbrook House, Cedargrove, N.J.
Essex County Teen Age Center, Cedargrove, N.J.
Fairfield County Trust Company, Darien, Conn.
Fernold School, Waltham, Mass.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
Fishman Realty, New York
Fellowship House and Farm, Philadelphia
Food Giant Markets, Los Angeles, Calif.
Freeman Cole and Associates Training Center, Washington, D.C.
Gilchrist's, Boston
Greene County Opportunities Industrialization Center, Xenia, Ohio
Hansen Planetarium, Salt Lake City, Utah
Haryou-ACT, New York
Harshe-Rotman and Druck, Inc., New York

HEW Heart Disease Control, Washington, D.C.
Home for Crippled Children, Pittsburgh
Inland Manufacturing, Dayton, Ohio
Institute for the Crippled and Disabled, New York
Institute for Developmental Studies, New York
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, Boston
Junior Art Museum, Los Angeles, Calif.
Kettering Research Laboratory, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Kings College, Cambridge, England
La Jolla Art Museum, La Jolla, Calif.
Macy's, New York
Manhattan Bowery Project, New York
Martin Segal, New York
McCall Corporation, New York
McDonnel Aircraft, St. Louis, Missouri
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Memphis, Tenn.
National Commission on Co-operative Education, New York
National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland
National Opinion Research Commission, Chicago
National Teacher Corps, Washington, D.C.
Nicetown Club for Girls and Boys, Philadelphia
Northwestern Clinic, Chicago, Illinois
New York School for Nursery Years, New York
New York Times, New York
Social and Rehabilitation Service, Washington, D.C.
Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston, Mass.
Philadelphia Public Schools, Philadelphia
Planned Parenthood, New York
Popular Library, New York
Presbyterian Camps, Saugatauck, Michigan
Princeton Co-operative School Program, Princeton, N.J.
Program to Excite Potential, Saratoga Springs, New York
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C.
Supporting Council for Preventive Effort, Dayton, Ohio
Skidmore College, Drama Department, Saratoga Springs, New York
The Anderson, Maumee, Ohio
United States Public Health Service, Cincinnati, Ohio
University of Georgia Marine Institute, Sapelo Is, Georgia
Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse, New York
Urban League, Bronx, New York
Urban League of Greater Boston, Boston, Mass.
Vera Institute of Justice, New York
Vernay Laboratories, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Washington Post, Washington, D.C.
Washington Technical Institute, Washington, D.C.
Webster College, St. Louis

Webb Associates, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Philadelphia Public Schools, Philadelphia
William Filene's Sons Company, Boston
William Morris Agency, New York
Wiltwyck School for Boys, Esopus, New York
Winnetka Public School, Winnetka, Illinois
Shearman & Sterling, New York
Yellow Springs Instrument Company, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Yellow Springs Teen Center, Yellow Springs, Ohio
YMCA Vocational Service Bureau, New York

Partial List of kinds of Jobs held by Students in Antioch Extramural Program 1965-1969, July 1, 1969

work with architectural drawing
library aide
teaching aide
teachers assistant
dept. store work - sales, varied
counsellor (Upward Bound)
librarian office assistant
stock room work
general assistant
mail room clerk
inspector in manufacturing plant
physical science aide
computer operator
orderly
nurses aide
business machine operator
clerical
counsellor
design technician
assistant engineer
secretary
gallery attendant
teacher interne
data collection

messenger
photographer
field research assistant
youth council organizer
assistant in newspaper circulation
tutoring
maintenance
copy boy
set up co-op program
coder
salesman
brakeman
rescue alcoholics
statistical work
computer programmer
actor
making physical measurements
subject in experiment
voter registration & education
recreation therapist
clerk typist
organizer of welfare mothers
research assistant

Related Reports

Bush, Dixon, "A Definition and Frame of Reference for Working with Disadvantaged Students", Unpublished paper, February 28, 1966.

Fraser, Dianne, "Differences and Similarities in Personality Characteristics between Participants and Non-Participants in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education", Senior Thesis, Antioch College, June, 1968.

Graham, Jewel, "The Antioch Program for Interracial Education--the First Three Years", 1964-67, Unpublished Report, July 1, 1967.

Sparks, Lois, "Separatism at Antioch, A Study of the Antioch Interracial Education Program", June, 1968.

Kinescopes

"Two Interviews" 1966, in short and long versions

Untitled kinescope compiled from audio visual tapes by student to illustrate attitudinal changes.

"The Antioch Program for Interracial Education--1964-1969" Part I, Part II, Part III, Part IV.

The publication of this Report is made possible through a grant from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, under Section 408 of the Higher Education Act of 1965.